The Art of
MUGHAL INDIA

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Painting & Precious Objects

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, TEXT, AND CATALOGUE NOTES BY

STUART C. WELCH

NEW YORK CITY

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The Art of Mughal India

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FOREWORD

IT WAS *nearly three years ago that George Montgomery, then director of Asia House Gallery, invited Stuart Cary Welch to investigate the possibilities of an exhibition on the art of Mughal India. This exhibition is the fruit of that suggestion —a project which the Gallery's Panel of Advisors has warmly supported. Since then, Mr. Welch has travelled widely in the Orient, as well as in Europe and America, choosing the exhibition and arranging for loans. Whenever circumstances permitted it, the institutions and collectors who were approached have been wonderfully generous in their responses. The result is the first major Mughal exhibition in this country and a catalogue that is virtually a book on this little-explored subject.*

Surprisingly enough, the bulk of the material comes from various American collections such as that of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck in whose faithful support we can always rejoice. Our own museums are likewise constantly responsive to such unusual projects and our thanks to their directors, curators, and trustees are again most gratefully given. So, too, with our American scholars who, as in the present case of Sherman E. Lee, permit us to display newly discovered treasures. We here take great pleasure in showing several pages from Cleveland's TUTI-NAMA (TALES OF A PARROT) *No. 4—an acquisition of major importance that has scarcely been announced even to the scholarly world.*

We should like to express our gratitude to the many colleagues and friends without whose help and encouragement this exhibition would not have been possible, and especially to:

In India: Moti Chandra, Pramod Chandra, B. Ch. Chhabra, His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, Rai Krishnadasa, Seth Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Grace Morley, Kumar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh.

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GORDON BAILEY WASHBURN
Director
Asia House Gallery

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE PATTERN *of conquest had been set many millenia before the Mughals came. Aryans, Greeks, Scythians, Huns, and later, Arabs, Turks, and Afghans, had broken through the narrow defiles of India's vulnerable northwest. The earlier settlers were subjugated or pushed aside; some fled to the south, others into the less accessible and often less fertile areas of the north. The conquerors then held the land until their turn came to be uprooted.*

Arabs were the first Moslems to reach India. They came as traders during the first years of the eighth century and gathered in small numbers in the Sind and the Punjab. They had little influence upon the local population, whom they did not attempt to convert. The Muslim conquest of northern India began in earnest in the last quarter of the twelfth century with invasions of Turks, and later, Afghans, peoples who remained virtual foreigners for nearly five hundred years. By 1340, the Sultanate of Delhi ruled twenty-four provinces, including parts of the Deccan and a strip of the Malabar coast. After 1340, the southern Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar and certain of the Rajput chiefs of the north checked Muslim expansion. Indian Islam went into a gradual political decline from which it was not to emerge until the Mughal period.

INTRODUCTION

THE MUGHAL DYNASTY in India began and ended with poets; and the intervening emperors were, with few exceptions, among the world's most aesthetically minded rulers. Within the span of a few decades they evolved an art style that pervaded every man-made thing from great cities to the tiniest jade pins used for tying turbans. It was an art that seldom strayed far from nature. The emperors doted on flowers and animals, and these were made the subject of their poetic imagery, as in a crystal box shaped like a mango, or a jade cup that changes in form from flower into goat.

The kings were romantics to the last, always reaching for the unattainable. Babur, the poet-conqueror, was possessed with the dream of an empire worthy of his ancestral glories. A utopian India for Hindus and Moslems alike was Akbar's idealistic obsession. And Aurangzeb, who nearly killed the empire with his quixotic ideals, was slave to a mania for conquest of the Deccan.

The emperors' varying moods found expression at the hands of their artists and craftsmen, who gave tangible form to their flights of fancy. Mughal miniatures abound in the picturesque, the remote, and the unknown, which were sought in Akbar's fantastic *Hamza-namo*, larger than any other illustrated book in Islamic tradition and charged with wonder; in Jahangir the World-seizer's condensed, super-naturalistic world of picture-albums; and in Shah Jahan's airless but wish-fulfilling state images—all of which are impassioned projections of the romantic spirit.

Although Turkish and Persian in background, the Mughals were not Muslim rulers of India but Indian rulers who happened to be Muslims. During its greatest phase, from the mid-sixteenth century through the

mid-seventeenth, the empire was given life by cooperation between Moslems and Hindus. Mughal art was, in these years at least, an Indian art. Many of the painters and craftsmen were Hindus and their work often contains ancient traditional qualities and motifs which had been synthesized with foreign elements by Akbar's genius.

The Mughals (whose name, variously spelled, derives from Mongols) came late to India and lived in cosmopolitan times. Foreign influences and ideas could not be kept out even had the emperors wanted to do so. Actually their insatiable curiosity and their delight in the exotic made them welcome much that was foreign. Chinese and European works of art were collected and later incorporated into the Mughal repertoire. Akbar's and Jahangir's palaces were decorated with images of the Virgin Mary in much the same spirit that a European palace might have been tricked up with imported fancies from Cathay or from the land of the Great Mogul.

The sixteenth century was an age of individualism. Humanism had triumphed, even in India. After millenia of anonymity, Indian artists emerged as distinct entities. We know dozens of Mughal Old Masters by name and style, and we can speak of them as we do of Rembrandt or Durer. Paintings by several of the most wonderful—and they are small only in scale—have been included here to make their names and styles more familiar: Basawan (3a, 4a, 5b, 8a, 8b, 11a, 16), Govardhan (31, 43, 46, 17), Miskin (4d, 11b, 12), and Bishndas (24, 36, 32), to mention only a few.

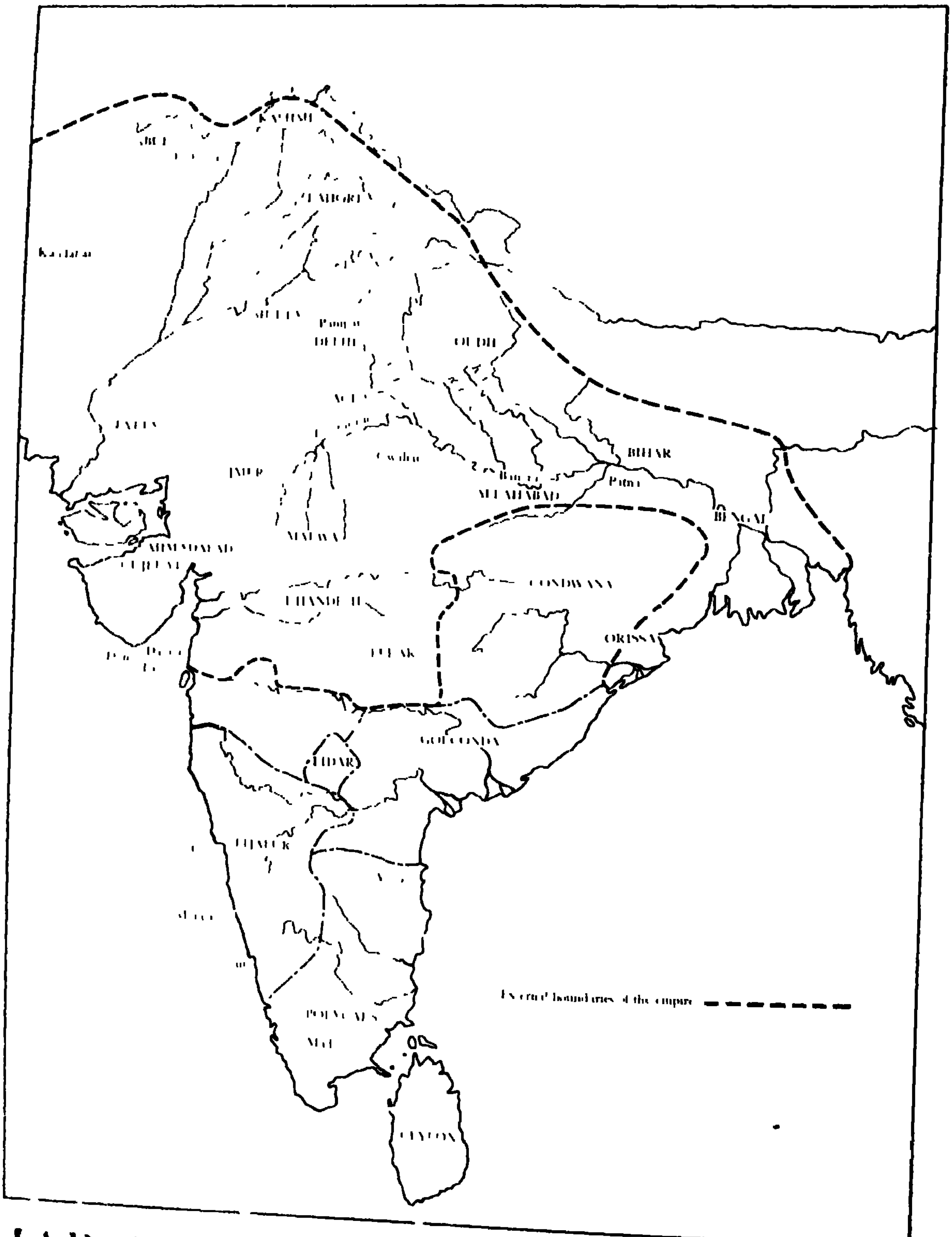
But we must end with a word of caution. Several of the qualities we find in Mughal art (romanticism, Indian-ness, and poetry) have frequently been denied it by critics. It is our hope that this exhibition will succeed in opening a window which criticism had closed.

STUART CARY WELCH

LIST OF TEXT

FIGURES

Text figures are illustrations of objects which could not be placed on exhibition and are included to amplify the discussion of the development of Mughal art. Such illustrations bear the designation: Fig 1, Fig 2, &c.



MAP OF AKBAR'S INDIAN EMPIRE

PART ONE

BABUR AND HUMAYUN

Babur's lineage & inheritance—seizure of Samarkand—invasion of India in 1526 —conquests completed at Ghagra in 1529—succession of Humayun in 1530— rebellion—flight to Persia—Akbar born in exile—rebel dynasty declines—Humayun's reconquest of India & death in 1556.

BABUR, the first Mughal emperor of India, was a descendant of Chingiz Khan and Timur. At eleven he inherited Ferghana, a kingdom in Central Asia that was smaller than his ambitions. By the time he was fifteen, he had taken Samarkand, a city of magnificent buildings, public baths, and gardens. But he soon fell ill and as rumor of his weakness spread, the country rose against him. He had no choice but to escape with a few followers — a poor beginning for a conqueror. Yet Babur was undaunted; within a few years he and his small band captured Kabul, an even more delightful city with a better climate and wonderful fruit trees. It was on a trade route from India, furthermore, and caravans laden with spices, jewels, and slaves reminded him of his ancestor Timur's conquest of Hindustan. By rights, this fabled land was part of his inheritance and it could be his for the taking. After several forays, Babur invaded India, and in 1526 he defeated Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, where his cannon so terrified the enemy elephants that they ran amuck and trampled their own troops. Mughal India had begun.

After Panipat, Babur increased the Mughal foothold by annual campaigns. He overcame the Hindu chiefs of Rajputana at Kanhua in 1527 and again a year later at Chanderi. His last battle, a victory over the Afghans at Ghagra, preceded his death in 1530 by less than a year.

Babur was a man of action with the spirit of a poet. Although his conquests left no time for patronage — and there is no art from his reign — he wrote verse and an autobiography which reveals that this first Mughal had within him many of the tastes and weaknesses that were to develop in his descendants. His first act after Panipat was to lay out a garden. He thought nothing of holding up a campaign to admire a bird or flower. Like his heirs, he was deeply concerned with music, painting, and architecture as well as such outdoor activities as hunting and wrestling. He staged week-long picnics which were enlivened by animal combats, jugglers, dancers, good company, and quantities of wine and *bhang*, a hemp concoction that bought some of the Mughal house too frequent respite from the responsibilities of empire.

From the first deeply concerned with beauty

Ironically, Babur was not fond of the place he conquered. According to the *Memoirs*, Hindustan was cursed by heat, dust, and wind, and the people had "no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention." And these are but a few of his complaints. His likes were those that had always lured soldiers of fortune. "The chief excellency of Hindustan," he wrote, "is that it is a large country and has abundance of gold and silver."

The story of Babur's death has a curiously Indian flavor which recalls the semi-legendary accounts of the ancient kings. Humayun, his son and heir, was stricken with a mysterious disease, beyond the powers of medicine. It came to Babur that a great sacrifice to God was called for; he offered his life for Humayun's. From this moment, the prince grew stronger, Babur paled and became feeble, and soon he died. A tomb was built for him at Kabul, far from the dusty heat of India, and in a garden.

HUMAYUN was twenty-three and already a veteran of his father's campaigns when he came to the throne. He combined, at first, the virtues of a highly civilized prince with the more essential soldierly ones. The realm was little more than an encircled outpost. In a spurt of activity, Humayun led the army to victory in Gujerat. Unhappily, success invited the enjoyment of its rewards. Humayun settled at Agra where he wrote mystical

verse and gave in to the family taste for drink, *bhang*, and the complex ritual of kings.

While the Grand Mogul rested, Sher Shah, an Afghan who had been one of Babur's officers, rose against him and eventually drove Humayun across the desert of Sind and into Persia. At the grimmest moment, in 1542, Humayun's fifteen-year-old wife gave birth to an heir Akbar, who was destined to create the greatest Indian empire since the Guptas.

Persian sources of early Mughal painting

Humayun's luck was not all bad, and he had a share of the family talent. Shah Tahmasp Safavi, the king of Persia, offered refuge; he too had known lean times and had lost battles to the Ottoman Turks, who had sacked Tabriz and intrigued with a brother to depose him. Tahmasp was so upset by these crises that his interests had changed; once an inspiring patron of poets, musicians, and particularly painters, he had become excessively serious. Hence, the arts were suspect when Humayun reached the newly puritanical Safavid court, a situation which led indirectly to the founding of the Mughal school of painting. For Humayun appreciated the magnificent achievements of the Shah's artists and invited at least one of them to join his entourage, a suggestion that would have been wildly out of order a few years before — comparable to luring away a host's chef. But the new austerity played into the guest's hand. Besides, Shah Tahmasp seemed as eager for Humayun's help as Humayun was for his. The Persian king needed allies against the Turks, and a friendly Mughal India had distinct advantages. The Mughal territories lay between Persia and the generally well disposed sultanates of the Deccan. Thus, if the Mughals sided with the Persians, a formidable block would be lined up against the Ottomans.

With Safavid support, Humayun took up residence at Kabul where he awaited the propitious moment for reconquest. Prince Akbar joined his father there, and the painters Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd as Samad arrived from Persia in 1549. With their coming, the history of Mughal painting begins. But there is nothing very Mughal about it. A painting of this phase by Abd as Samad, which is now in Teheran, shows Akbar presenting a miniature to his father in a tree house. Except for a few differences of costume it might almost have been painted in Tabriz. Whatever there is in

PART ONE

Plate

nt of Mughal style could be ascribed to the influence of Mir Sayyid Ali, whose unusually naturalistic manner had appealed to Humayun in Persia. A scene of nomadic life in which elegant Safavids rusticate, as Marie Antoinette did in her farmyard, could have been one of the pictures the exiled king had admired. It contains elements, unusual for Persian painting, which might be termed proto-Mughal. Mir Sayyid Ali had opened his eyes to the world and made drawings from life rather than after other works of art. The arched back of the angry cat, the tautness of the tent ropes, and the portrait-like figures were the fruit of close observation.

In 1553, good news came of bad times at Delhi. Sher Shah Afghan, whose distinction in battle had disrupted the Mughals, was killed in 1545. He had governed so wisely, however, that his dynasty did not weaken until nearly a decade later when a hopeless incompetent inherited the throne. Humayun's opportunity had come. In exchange for Kandahar, Tahmasp gave military aid and the Mughals were back in Agra by 1555. Unfortunately, Humayun's fortunes never held. Six months later, startled by a call to prayer, he tripped and fell the length of his library stairs. He died soon and left a nation little stronger than the one he had inherited, lost, and barely regained

PART TWO

AKBAR THE GREAT

Akbar inherits a disorganized kingdom— empire secure by 1600—policy of religious toleration— Rajput princes encouraged in rivalry—Akbar's court attracts diverse talents—capital moved to Lahore—the "Histories"— interest in Europe—curiosity about Christianity.

THE MUGHAL empire and Mughal art were Akbar's creation. Since we can show no formal portrait of him, let us see him through the eyes of two contemporaries, a visiting Jesuit, who describes his outward appearance, and Jahangir, his son, who gives a vivid and true account of his personality.

"One could easily recongnize...that he is king. He has broad shoulders, somewhat bandy legs well suited to horsemanship, and a light brown complexion. He carries his head bent towards the right shoulder. His forehead is broad and open, his eyes so bright and flashing that they seem like a sea shimmering in the sunlight. His eyelashes are very long,.. eyebrows not strongly marked. His nose is straight and small though not insignificant. His nostrils are widely opened as though in derision.... He shaves his beard but wears a moustache. He limps in his left leg though he has never received an injury there.... He is sturdy, hearty, and robust. When he laughs his face becomes almost distorted. His expression is tranquil, serene, and open, full of dignity, and when he is angry, awful majesty." (Monserrate's *Commentary*, tr. by J.S. Hoyland, 1922, pp. 196–197.)

"My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion; especially the pundits and the learned of India, and although he was illiterate, so much became clear to him through constant intercourse

with the learned and the wise, that no one knew him to be illiterate, and he was so well acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose composition that this deficiency was not thought of. In his august personal appearance he was of middle height, but inclined to be tall; he was of the hue of wheat; his eyes and eyebrows were black, and his complexion rather dark than fair; he was lion-bodied, with a broad chest, and his hands and arms long. On the left side of his nose, he had a fleshy mole, very agreeable in appearance, of the size of half a pea. Those skilled in the science of physiognomy considered this mole a sign of great prosperity and exceeding good fortune. His august voice was very loud, and in speaking and explaining had a peculiar richness. In his actions and movements he was not like the people of the world, and the glory of God manifested itself in him. Notwithstanding his kingship, his treasures and his buried wealth past computation, his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he never by a hair's breadth placed his foot beyond the base of humility before the throne of God, and never for one moment forgot Him. He associated with the good of every race and creed and persuasion, and he was gracious to all in accordance with their condition and understanding. He passed his nights in wakefulness, and slept little in the day; the length of his sleep during the whole night and day was not more than a watch and a half. He counted his wakefulness at night as so much added to his life. His courage and boldness were such that he could mount raging, rutting elephants and subdue to obedience murderous elephants which would not allow their own females near them." (*Jahangir's Memoirs*, tr. by Rogers and Beveridge, London, 1914, pp. 33-34.)

CONQUESTS

In an age of great rulers, Akbar was one of the greatest. When at thirteen he inherited the Mughal territories, there was no empire, no government worthy of the name, no art which it could call its own, no policy, and not much future. Within less than fifty years, he had created all these things and succeeded by some miracle in bringing together the diverse peoples of India to form a cooperative whole. The first problems that faced him were military and personal; his lands were hemmed in by rivals and he by a regent and a distressing combine of women. But the ladies were soon

appeased, the regent dispatched to Mecca, and the military conquests were carried out, all the while, with the monotonous regularity of a timetable. In 1556, at Panipat, he defeated and killed Hemu, the Hindu general of the rival Sur dynasty; two years later, he had taken Gwaliar Fort and Ajmer, the key to Rajasthan. Chitor, the Mewar capital, fell with terrible slaughter in 1568. Gujerat was his in 1573; Bengal in 1576 Ten years later, he annexed Kashmir, which was followed in 1590 by Southern Sind, Orissa in 1592, Baluchistan and Makran in 1594, Berar in 1596, and finally Ahmadnagar in the Deccan in 1600.

REFORMS

Intuitively, Akbar knew that to survive, the empire must have a government for all Indians, Hindus included. He abolished the tax on Hindu pilgrims in 1563 and followed this by repealing the *jizya*, a poll tax on all non-Moslems. Realizing that the chiefs of Rajputana, northern India's proudest warriors, could greatly strengthen Mughal power, he cultivated their support. In 1562, he married the daughter of Raja Bihari Mal of Amber and soon he had won over several of the noblest Rajputs, who became his generals. If they served loyally and well, special boons were granted — the right to come to court bearing arms, or to wear a beard, or to sound their war drums in the capital. But, simultaneously, the clan divisions of these ferocious champions were fostered with Machiavellian care, for Akbar knew the Rajputs were a source of strength only so long as they were hostile to one another. Like the Muslim nobles, the Rajput princes were prevented from building up sufficient wealth or power to challenge the central government; their fiefs reverted upon the death of the chief to the emperor, who saw to it that only cooperative heirs succeeded.

Artists, philosophers, & divines flock to the court

Akbar's court was cosmopolitan. His magnetism was so centripetal that Persians, Afghans, Arabs, Europeans, and representatives of most of the religions and castes of India flocked to the court to make their fortunes. Poets, philosophers, and divines jostled musicians and merchants, each of whom contributed to the growing empire. Raja Todar Mal, a member of the business caste, brought his genius in the counting house and helped to reorganize the revenue system so effectively that his policies survived into

PART TWO

the nineteenth century. Tansen of Gwaliar introduced the singing of Brindaban to the court, where it was heard along with the melodies of Persia. Hindu epics and the classics of Islamic literature were literally "back to back" in the royal library.

RELIGION

Akbar's dream of unity among Indians was expressed in everything he undertook. After 1575, when the frenzy of conquest had abated and there was more time for peaceful pursuits, Akbar settled at his newly built red-stone capital, Fatehpur-sikri, where he inaugurated a series of religious discussions in a special house of worship. At first only shaikhs, mullahs, and great nobles were invited to participate, but later he welcomed Christians, Hindus, Parsees, Jains, and others. The inquiries often lasted until dawn, and the emperor, from all accounts, raised disturbing questions in his search for truth. At times, he alarmed the orthodox Moslems, who considered that he had turned against Islam, and they tried to block his reforms. Frustrated by such conservatism, Akbar took two steps in 1579 towards secularizing the state. He read the Friday prayer in the mosque at Fatehpur-sikri and forced through the Infallibility Decree, which the divines signed with considerable reluctance. This permitted Akbar to decide religious questions over which the Mujtahids were deadlocked and empowered him to issue new decrees, provided they were in the best interests of the state and in conformance with Koranic law. These measures were a logical outcome of the religious discussions, and they were consistent with his scheme of a government for all Indians. Later, he tried to create a synthetic religion based upon Islam, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, and other faiths. Although this might have done away with the religious differences of the empire, it failed; but it is proof of Akbar's good sense that he did not try to force it upon a reluctant people.

Fig. 1

PAINTING

While yet a boy at Kabul, Akbar had worked with his father's Persian painters and learned from them to enjoy the linear graces and exquisite harmonies of their art. But this was not the sort of painting destined to evolve in Akbar's India, the emotional climate was not right for such delicacy and restraint. Dynamic and active himself, the emperor felt the

[illegible]

need for a more expressive and intense style, one that could play an active part in his imperial scheme.

Aesthetic views reflected in the A'in-i Akbari

His views on the arts in general and Persian painting in particular are reflected in passages written by his confidant and biographer, Abu'l Fazl. In the section on painting in the *A'in-i Akbari* ("The Statutes of Akbar"), he wrote that the Persian painter Abd as Samad's "perfection" was "mainly due to the wonderful look of his majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is spirit." In the *Akbar-nama* ("The History of Akbar") Abu'l Fazl gives his views on literary style, which can be considered close to the emperor's and which are applicable to the sister art of painting: "Most old authors," he wrote, "who string out their words...and display a worn out embroidery give all their attention to the ornamentation of words, and regard matter as subservient to them, and so exert themselves in a reverse direction. They consider cadence and decorative style as the constituents of eloquence and think that prose should be tricked out like the works of poets." In brief, Akbar did not consider the formal, decorative style of Persia well suited to his realm.

"HAMZA-NAMA"

What Akbar preferred to Persian niceties is apparent in two energetic pages from the *Dastan i-Amir Hamza*, the largest and most extraordinary of Mughal manuscripts, from which less than two hundred pages are known. The *Hamza-nama*, (Story of Hamza) as it is more conveniently called, illustrates the semi-apocryphal adventures of Amir Hamza, an uncle of the Prophet. The story had enjoyed considerable popularity in the pre-Mughal sultanates and was such a favorite with Akbar that in 1567 he commissioned a vast copy in twelve unsewn volumes, fourteen hundred paintings in all. Each picture was painted on cotton and measures two and a half feet by two feet. As in the illustrated epics that are still occasionally recited in Indian villages, the text was written on the back so that the painting could be displayed as it was being read aloud. According to contemporary accounts, the compositions were drawn by Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd as Samad but painted by fifty or more recruits. The *Hamza-nama* was the training ground of Akbari painting.

Plates 2, a & b

If we compare the *Hamza* pages to the Persian miniature by Mir Sayyid

Plate 1 Ali, the dissimilarities are so striking that one wonders how they can be so closely related. The Mir's encampment is infinitely refined, minutely painted, and subtle in color and rhythm. Anything that might have been ugly or disturbing has been eliminated or transmuted. Even the court laundress's soggy wash, on a Chinese blue-and-white dish, is flecked with silver and arranged in sinuous folds. But the *Hamza* pages are quite different. Plates 2, a & b They startle us with Dionysiac turbulence, broad handling, and strident, expressive color. The artists have done their best, or worst, to shock us. Blood, which would have been discreet and decorative in Persia, here seeps through bandages or gushes as from a fountain; arms and legs are bent back, distressing us with empathic twinges of pain; and those figures still capable of motion bound like three-dimensional demons through a kaleidoscopic explosion of flat geometric and arabesque patterns. The *Hamza-nama* is a vision of the world through the eyes of a lion.

And the lion, of course, was Akbar. Yet, important as his guidance may have been in the formation of the *Hamza* style, one must also consider the contributions of the painters. They came from far and wide and the resultant synthesis of their styles stood as a symbol of Mughal might. The artists can be divided into two main groups: the foreigners (Persians and possibly others) and the Indians. Of the former, we have already met Humayun's Tabriz masters; but artists also came from other courts. A Plate 6 drawing of *Dara and the Herdsman* by Muhammad Taqi is instilled with the baroque sweep of the lively school at Mashhad from which artists scattered in 1577 when their patron, Ibrahim Mirza, was murdered. Other examples argue for close contacts with Bukhara and Shiraz. More mystifying is the possibility that certain cloud-forms and demons, among the most exotic surprises in the *Hamza-nama*, were brought from Nepal, Tibet, or even Ladakh. European influence is also a matter for speculation; one cannot be sure whether it is due to the actual presence of European artists or, as seems more likely, derived from European works of art.

THE CLEVELAND "TUTI-NAMA"

Akbar's Indian artists brought the ingredients which bridge the gap between the harmonies of Tabriz and the violence of the *Hamza-nama*. Although their exact sources remain in most cases unknown, they must

have come to the Mughal ateliers either because of the lure of generous patronage or as the human loot of Akbar's conquests. A manuscript recently discovered by Dr. Sherman Lee, the *Tuti-nama* (Tales of a Parrot) contains many miniatures which were painted by them at the same time as the *Hamza* project, but without Persian help. It is undated but should not be later than the end of the 1560's. The artists can be classified in three principal groups: those who had worked for the sultans, in more or less Indianized variants of Persian and other Islamic styles; the painters from the Hindu courts of Rajputana and adjacent areas; and artists of the so-called Western Indian style, associated with the Jain communities. While a few of the *Tuti-nama* pictures are in almost fully digested *Hamza* style, most were painted by recent arrivals who had not yet shed their former ways. Thus, a scene in which a man encounters four women in a jungle, with its tapestry- Plate 3b
like plantains and fish-eyed girls (all elbows, hips, and bosoms) has barely emerged from the *Chaurapanchasika* style. A second miniature, a youth "surprised" by a docile lion, contains the Persian conventions for grass, trees, Plate 3c
and stream found in purest form in a series of manuscripts that can be associated with Golconda. *Two Men Frightened by an Ass Disguised as a Tiger* Plate 3d
is painted in the broad, slashing strokes found in the *Hamza* manuscript. The fourth miniature bears an attribution to Basawan, on of the four pain- Plate 3a
ters singled out by Abu'l Fazl, who considered him "most excellent" in "back-grounding, drawing of features, distribution of colors, portrait painting, and several other branches." Although this is his earliest known picture, the figures are already imbued with his sculptur esque and psychologically oriented style, of which we shall see more later.

Akbar's artists reflected his interests, thoughts, and moods so sensitively that their miniatures are projections of his mind which tell us not only what concerned him but also provide a key to his emotional states. Thus, the rhythmic and coloristic violence of the *Hamza-nama* is a formal expression of the struggle of Akbar's powerful intellect against the manifold problems of an empire in the making. One feels in the pictures the fervor of his mood during the years at Fatehpur-sikri. And conversely, the calmer, more delicate forms of the later pictures mirror Akbar's peace of mind which came with the increased security of the empire.

At forty-three, Akbar moved the capital to Lahore. The empire was established and ready for consolidation and refinement. And so were the ateliers. Several luxurious literary manuscripts and fable books, which exemplify the new calm, were produced there after 1585. Intimate in scale, they were written by the most admired scribes and illustrated by outstanding masters working unassisted. A *Diwan* of Anwari, of 1588, perhaps the most lyrical of Mughal manuscripts, is the earliest dated example from this subtle and exceptionally miniaturistic phase. Small enough to fit a pocket, the book was written on paper as fine as a butterfly wing, and many of its pages are marbleized or decorated with birds, beasts, and flowers in golden arabesques. The fifteen miniatures were painted with the more restful rhythms, subtler tones, and other refinements that had replaced the rougher expressions of a less settled age. Plates 4, a—d

BASAWAN

Two pages from another small book, a scattered *Diwan* of Shahi, bring us to about 1595, when the Lahore workshops had conceived a still greater passion for minuteness. A signed picture by Kesu Das, *The Arrival of a Prince*, cries out with the delight of newly acquired mastery and exhibits an increased emphasis on natural appearances, particularly in the handling of figures and atmosphere. Although the artist still resorts to such conventions as the toy-like city, he has followed the progress of sunlight and observed how it illumines a tree on the horizon. *The Poet Spurned* is attributable to Basawan, whose earliest work we have already encountered in the Cleveland *Tuti-nama*. By now, the plasticity once apparent in the men and the curtain only, has spread through the *mise en scene*, lending airiness and substance to its mysterious hollows. But his Rembrandt-like characterizations, his use of diagonals, and many little idiosyncrasies — such as the painting of drapery and turbans — have undergone no fundamental changes. Plate 5a Plate 5b

Plate 7 Basawan's two miniatures for a *Khamsa* of Amir Khosrau Dihlavi, (the superb lacquer binding of which is also shown), enable us to gain a fuller understanding of him. Like the majority of pictures entirely by his hand, *A Hindu Fleeing from a Dervish* is a drama of the mind rather than of the body. Its success hinges upon the psychologically compelling study of two Plate 8a

men, which Basawan has accomplished by such oblique devices as contrasting the Hindu's awkward stagger to the grace of running deer. His profound understanding of personality as well as his good-humored by-play and lively sub-plots to the story of *Iskander's Visit to a Hermit* in which we can share the fun of a cook whose dog mimics the crossed feet of his master. But this picture also brings out his softly luminous handling of color and his painterly technique. A brush to Basawan was a tool of infinite uses; while he explored its repertoire of dots, dashes, squiggles, and hooks, he also felt quite free to use the point as a stylus. Plate 8b

The individual styles of Akbar's artists became more pronounced as time went on. There was room in the workshops for such eccentrics as Farrukh Chela whose visionary and mannered style is in apparent in *The Lion's Court.* A page from a sumptuous copy of the *Anwar-i-Suhaili,* a fable book, dated 1596, reveals his penchant for odd off-shades of violet, pink, and blue and for slithering, attenuated shapes. Although his colleagues were by no means mere naturalists, Farrukh Chela's miniatures seem by comparison to theirs unusually personal and even disturbing. Plate 10

THE HISTORIES

Following Mongol and Timurid example, Akbar commissioned books of history which recounted world events from the legendary beginnings through his own latest deeds. Several such volumes and many stray pages have survived. Of these, the earliest may be miniatures from a scattered Persian translation of Babur's *Memoirs,* the autograph version of which was written in Turki. A study of fowlers, perhaps from Akbar's copy of 1589, retains the vibrant brushwork of the 1580's and other pages still echo the *Hamza-nama* in style. Although our picture has lost its lower margin, and with it the attribution, it was almost certainly designed by one of the leading masters, who are known to have worked on the manuscript. Plate 9

The most vivid of the histories, perhaps due to the immediacy of its subject, is the *Akbar-nama* (History of Akbar) by Abu'l Fazl, from which there are 116 miniatures in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Following the usual Mughal workshop practice, most of the miniatures are by several hands. A master, such as Basawan or Miskin, provided the outline which

was then painted by assistants. Portraits and animals were sometimes the work of specialists, and occasionally the master would add a few final touches or corrections. In spite of this procedure, these historical miniatures are among the most exciting and cohesive in design in Mughal art. And they were certainly the most useful; many a recalcitrant raja or proud ambassador must have paled before their blood-thirsty revelations of the horrors that awaited those who resisted Mughal domination.

Plate 11a One of the most stirring pages from the *Akbar-nama* depicts the emperor hunting tiger near Gwaliar in 1561. According to an inscription, outline and portraits are by Basawan, and painting was by Tara the Elder. But the tiger whose head is falling beneath Akbar's scimitar is probably entirely by the master; its incarnate energy reveals Basawan as the most moving Plate 11b of Akbari animal painters. In a second page, outlined by Miskin and painted by Paras, siege guns are hauled by bullocks to a promontory overlooking the Hara fort at Ranthambhor, which was taken in 1568. Few battle scenes could be more effective than this one, which catches us up in a tautly diagonal composition of flailing, swarming soldiers, laboring animals, and booming cannon.

HINDU SUBJECTS

Akbar's sympathy for Hinduism and his policy of encouraging understanding between Moslems and Hindus caused him to commission translations of Hindu epics. Persian versions of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* were prepared at the emperor's order by two of his most orthodox shaikhs. The original copies, containing hundreds of marvelous miniatures dating from the 1580's, are among the treasures in the collection of the Maharaaja Plate 13 of Jaipur. A miniature of the Hindu God Krishna raising Mount Govardhan in order to protect his devotees from Indra's wrath is from a slightly later manuscript, the *Harivamsa*, which recounts the avatars of Vishnu and especially his appearance as Krishna. The painting combines, in typical Mughal fashion, genuine religiosity with a closely observed study of contemporary villagers.

Yogis intrigued Akbar, who often visited them, and whose library contained illustrated studies of their positions. Although not from such a Plate 12 book, a miniature, in which the emperor watches a lion in combat with a

bullock, includes three ascetics with their apprentices, who meditate in the company of goats. The picture can be assigned to Miskin, who often worked in this subdued palette of thin tans, opaque greens, and faint washes of other tints. Unlike Basawan, who preferred mass and tone, Miskin composed in linear formations suggestive of muscle and sinew. His rocks challenge us to a game of visual hide and seek; if we look intently enough, we can find in them human and animal profiles that verge on caricature.

EXOTICISM FROM EUROPE

Enthusiasm for European ways

The exotic appearance and ways of Europeans also interested Akbar, who first met them in 1573. In his enthusiasm, he is said to have donned Portuguese dress and allowed them to kiss his hand. In 1578, a humble priest came to Fatehpur-sikri; but his knowledge of Christianity did not impress the emperor, who asked the Portuguese viceroy at Goa to send him Jesuits with books and Gospels so that he could "study and learn the law and what is best and most perfect in it." The mission arrived in 1580 and was given full liberty to preach, convert, and build a hospital. According to the fathers, "The emperor was doubtful as to all forms of faith because he found in all something to offend his reason and intelligence." Nevertheless, missionaries remained at court until Akbar's death and they never quite abandoned hope of his conversion.

In 1580, Akbar was given a copy of Plantin's Polyglot Bible which was illustrated with several baroque engravings. Although this can hardly have been the first European work studied by Mughal artists, it was probably one of the sources from which they adapted certain motifs of landscape and figure drawing. Fortunately, Mughal painters made no attempt before the middle of the seventeenth century to apply scientific perspective, and even then, sensing that it clashed with their concept of spatial design, they used it cautiously. But they did learn from European example that objects can be made to recede in space by diminishing their size and bluing their colors. Occasionally, Mughals painted line-for-line copies from European pictures; more frequently they "quoted" bits and pieces from them and incorporated a Christian saint or European town into otherwise Mughal compositions. Sometimes, exotic religious subjects, such

Application of rules of perspective in Mughal Painting

Plate 14

as *Christ with the Virgin Mary and St. Anne*, were translated into essentially Mughal terms. The hot, glowing colors, Indianized costumes, and gestures are here far removed from the engraving or painting that suggested them.

PORTRAITURE

Abu'l Fazl tells us that Akbar commissioned an immense portrait album "whereby those who have passed away received new life and those who are still alive have immortality." The idea was new in its scope, although Mir Sayyid Ali's figures — even those painted in Persia -- were almost portraits. A large group, *The House of Timur*, now in the British Museum, was probably painted by Abd as Samad for Humayun. In it there is little emphasis upon a sitter's personality. Akbar, it appears, was the first to require a soul-searching likeness which could, as his remarks imply, substitute for the person represented. Although this non-Oriental emphasis on the individual would seem to have been inspired by Humanism, it was given encouragement by the emperor's insatiable curiosity about people.

Plate 15

A portrait of Rai Singh of Bikaner, a Rajput general, in which he is isolated — like an insect pinned to a cork — against a green background, may be from Akbar's album. Although he is shown with all the attributes of rank (archer's rings, gold sash, dagger, underarm pomade, and so on) it was his personality that mattered most to the painter. So strong was the Mughal portrait-mentality that even Persian-trained artists responded to

Plate 17

it. A lightly tinted brush drawing, in which the calligraphic runs betray the origin of its creator, is noteworthy for its moving interaction between a devoted schoolmaster and his princely pupil.

The extent to which psychological portraiture was carried during the reign of Akbar is exemplified by a garden scene, probably by Basawan, in

Plate 16

which a Mughal and a Rajput converse. The proud Hindu, clearly not master of the situation, recoils, his hands tense and his head thrown back. The Mughal, too, registers his emotions: firm and confident, he is none the less conciliatory, and he tries to reassure the Hindu, to whom, perhaps, he has given the gold lamp in an effort to soften the impact of his disagreeable visit. Behind the Mughal, a servant raises his eyes as though to avoid involvement.

The isolation of the portraits on green backgrounds gradually gave way to likenesses in which the setting and attributes of the sitter are more specific. A huntsman wearing a luxuriantly decorated gold coat holds a jessed falcon as he stands against a background topped by a band of sky. Plate 19 Although no horizon line is drawn, the clouds and birds imply space and provide the drama of tempting quarry. A further step was taken by Mansur in his lyrical portrait of a vina player. Here, the rhythmic flutter of Plate 18 birds and flowers goes beyond physical description in a successful attempt to interpret music in paint.

DECORATIVE ARTS

Although buildings and manuscripts exist in generous quantity from Akbar's reign, few objects or textiles are known. Most everyday utensils of copper or bronze simply wore out, while those of gold set with precious stones were so intrinsically valuable that they were broken up and reset as fashions changed. Nevertheless, a gold, ruby, and diamond spoon of mas- Plate 20 sive and simple floral design somehow escaped the melting pot. It may have been made in the workshops near the palace, to which Akbar, according to Abu'l Fazl, paid regular visits. Another survivor is one of several fragments from a wool rug in which real and mythical beasts Plate 21 disgorge one another in a vast arabesque; its dynamic rhythms and animal force match the other arts associated with Fatehpur-sikri, one of the cities where Akbar "caused carpets to be made of wonderful varieties and charming textures." This reference from the *A'in-i Akbari* brings to mind the most original, if questionable, Mughal contribution to rugmaking, the pictorial carpet, which may have been inspired by European tapestry. Outstanding in this category, which violates the integrity of traditional two-dimensional, symmetrical ornament, is a wool landscape carpet gene- Plate 22 rally dated into the seventeenth century. Its miniature-like design of hunters, Hindu genre scenes, and animals is more likely, however, to be from the last years of the sixteenth century.



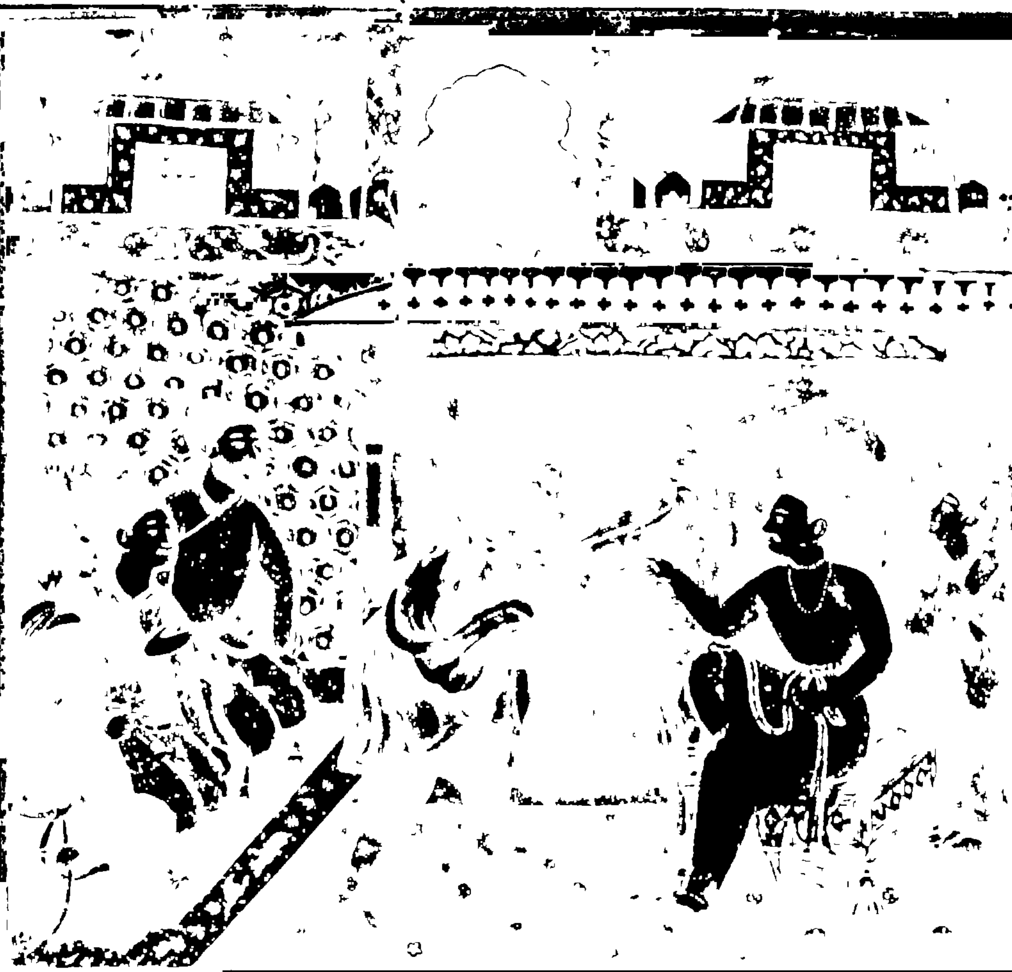






2A





روز دیگر طوطی به علاج رای مشغول شد و خدمت پسندیده کرد و نکو رفت چنانکه

ملک رای را یقین و اعتماد تمام شد و اعتقاد کلی گشت و از ادویه و اشربه او نیم صحت

رای یافت یک روز طوطی آغاز کرد ای رای چون به واسطه من نیم زحمت کم

شد تو مرا در زحمت تمام افگندی و چون گناهکاران در زندان قفس میداری

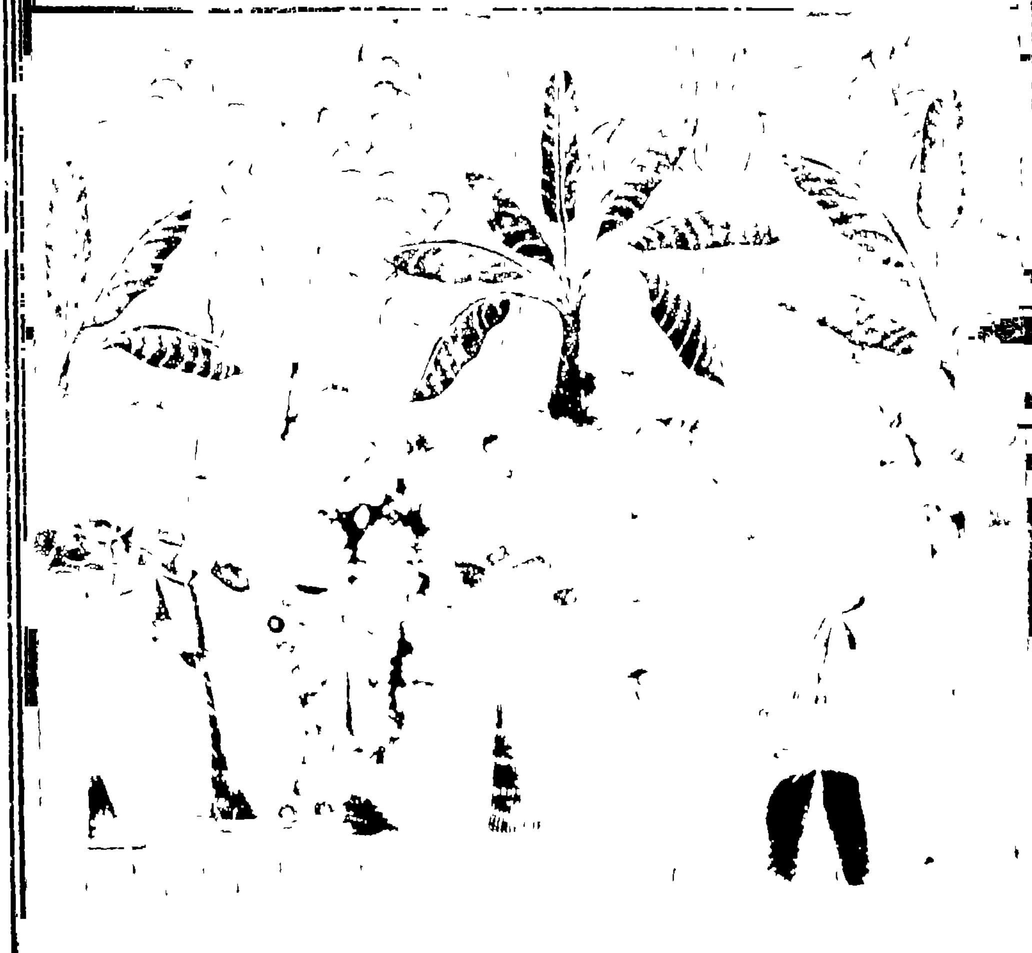
پر و بال شکسته من از خم قفس بیرون آر و بپر تا سرای خود بپرم

نخشبی بر تو وقف عمر بود   خوش کسی گو بدم ز نیکو بود

نیک را هیچ گاه بد نرسید   هر که او خوب کشت خوب درود

ای عورت تو از نجا سلامت باز کرد و از کرده و گفته خویش توبه کن و شوی مسکین را بعد ازین این نوع کار رما مفرما که مر عملی را جزای است و مر امروزی را فردا .

قطعه



وگوزنی در مقام خدمت و محل وزارت ایستاده و از امر و نواهی او را چشم داشته

بر همین در اندیشه شد که اگر مراجعت نمایم بالقطع شیر تعاقب کند و اگر بیشتر

شوم پای خود در کوهستان رفته باشم و خود را هم خود در کام بلا افکنده

بوم ناگاه نظر آهو و گوزن بر او افتاد یکدیگر گفتن گرفتند



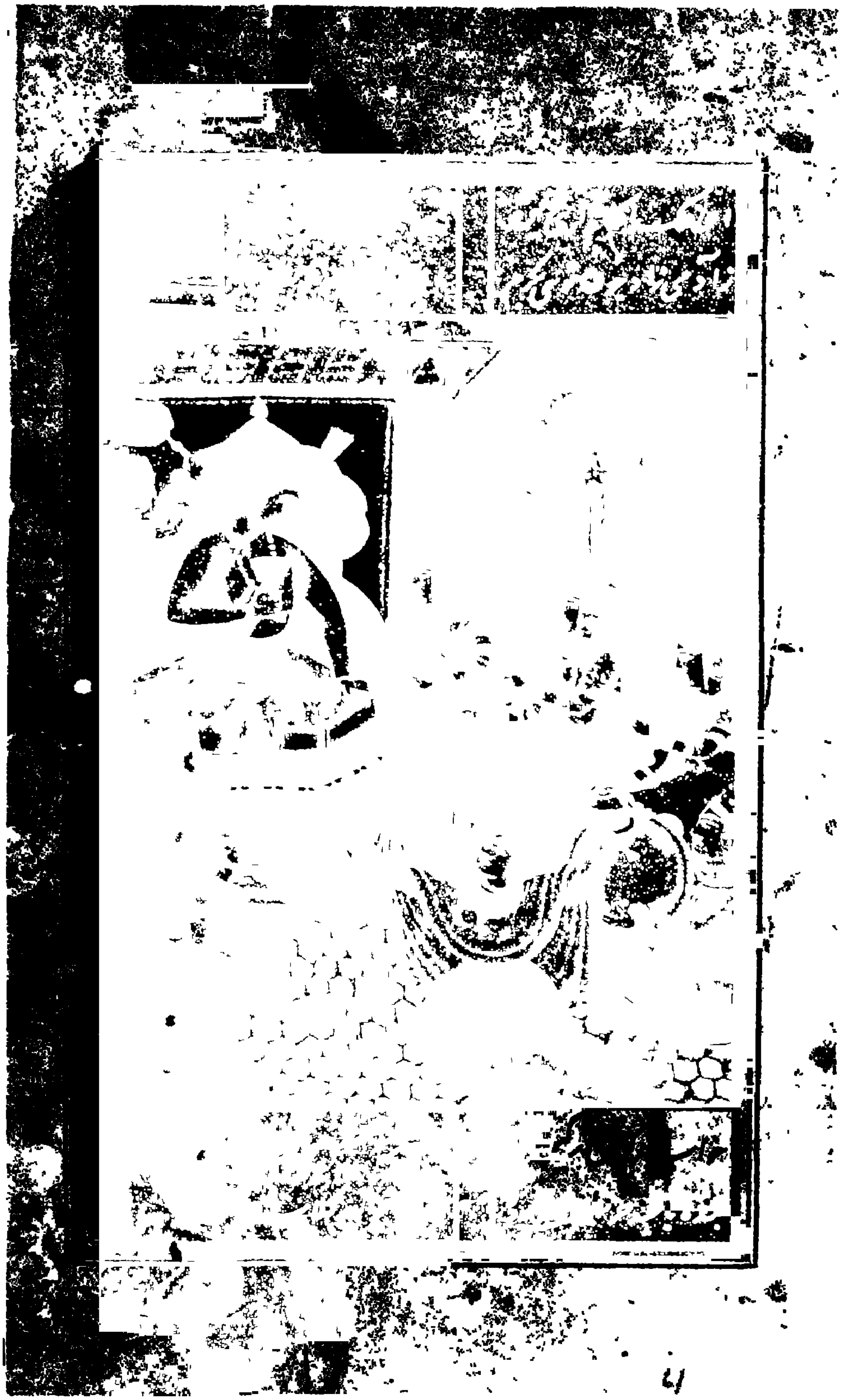
مخنثی کسی ز جامه کس نشود   ناگزین بگو که گرد گزین
جامهٔ شیر گر بپوشد خر   او همان خر بود نه شیر عرین



3D



4A



4B


درخواست حکیم مردو
تشریف دکه یک بیایه
اختلالی کر حال من دارد
نیست بر خاطر
در خطا و صواب کوشیده

روبهی میدوید در غم جان   روبهی دیگرش بدید چنان
گفت خیرست بازگوی خبر   گفت خرگیر میکند سلطان



گفت تو خر نه‌ای چه میترسی   گفت آری ولیک آدمیان
می ندانند و فرق می کنند   خر و روباهشان بود یکسان









8A



8B



آن چوب برابر بند دست را درمیان طناب پیچیده می
برارند طناب همان طور پیچیده و کاواک می ایستند پیله ورکا

در دست انداخته در پیش روی جانوران که می آیند گزرا می
لمدارند اگر در گردن و قفات جانور عنقد پیچیده آن جانور

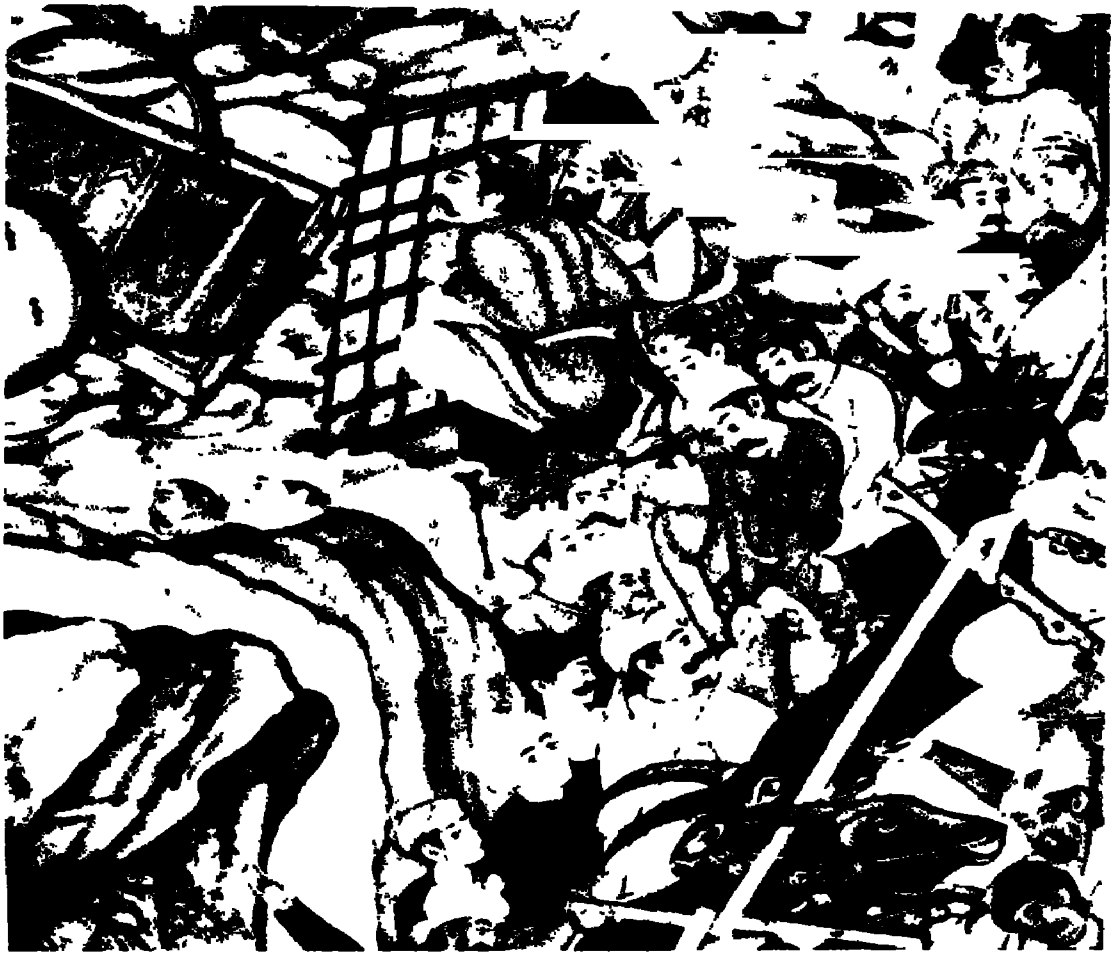



پس شاه قربان سبع آهنین چنگ که شیر خوی مقابل شده و از مشاهده این حال موی از تن نظارگیان
برخاسته بود و عرق از مسام بینندگان روان شده آنحضرت بیکجا تک پایی و چسپکی دستی بر سر او رفت
یک چو شیر شکار از شمشیر ابدار کار او تمام ساختند
کسی را که ایزد کند یاوری
که یارد که با او کند داوری
اگر حمله بر شیر نر آورد
باسانیش پوست بر تن درد





11B











15





17











PART THREE

JAHANGIR

Prince Selim succeeds father as "Jahangir"—Akbar's government maintained—religious toleration continued—"Memoirs"—connoisseurship—passion for the rare & exotic—increasing formality of the court.

Akbar died when Prince Selim was thirty-six and left Selim a well-ordered kingdom that was second to none in richness and power. The new emperor styled himself Jahangir or World-seizer, a name perhaps better suited to a conqueror than to an inheritor. For Jahangir did not have to face the challenges that had tested his forefathers and could instead concentrate upon the pleasurable uses of his legacy. Fortunately, this included sound judgment. Jahangir was neither politically nor militarily aggressive but he had the wisdom not to tamper with the masterpiece of government created by Akbar. He continued the enlightened policy of religious toleration, maintained the Rajput alliance that kept the armies strong, and fretted over the balance of power with Safavid Persia. As the human pivot of empire, he followed the rigorous schedule set by his father; three times daily he made public appearances, and many of the remaining hours were taken up by court ceremonies, private audiences, and council meetings. Until the last years, when Jahangir was ill and tired, he seems to have held the reins of government with better than adequate firmness.

Jahangir's personality comes to life in his *Memoirs* (the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*), an intimate, confessional book written with imperial disregard for the reader's opinion. Nothing was too great or too humble or too odd for him, and he often wrote about curiosities: bearded ladies, Siamese twins, and an ascetic who claimed immunity to liquor but who was, when put to the test, carried from the court dead drunk. The emperor could be cruel:

when Prince Khosru rebelled, Jahangir hanged and impaled hundreds of mutineers and then made the wretched young man ride past them as they writhed. But he could also be amiable and almost cloyingly considerate: the sight of an elephant shivering in its bath once led the emperor to order that in the future the water should be warmed.

Akbar's devotion to the arts was magnified in his son, for whom painting was one of the major concerns of life. In the *Memoirs*, Jahangir tells of his connoisseurship: "...my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or those of the present day, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is and who has painted the eye and eyebrow." And this is not idle boasting; today's critics have learned to respect Jahangir's judgments.

Prior to his accession, Prince Selim employed many painters, most of whom remained with him after he had inherited his father's workshops. Several manuscripts that can be assigned to the years of his governorship at Allahabad show that in the early 1600's he already favored a more naturalistic view of the world than had prevailed at his father's court. But there was never a single all-encompassing style in Jahangir's workshops. Several of his Persian-trained artists, such as Aqa Riza Jahangiri, whose *A Thief Bound to a Column* was painted for a *Bustan* of Sa'di (produced at Agra during the first year of the reign), continued to work in foreign idioms. Furthermore, the collector in Jahangir occasionally rose to the surface and demanded deliberately exotic or archaistic miniatures. *Sa'di's Visit to an Indian Temple* is one of three miniatures added to a sixteenth-century Bukhara *Bustan* by order of Jahangir. Although the first two could almost pass for Bukhara work, so closely did their painter ape the style, this one is non-Mughal only in its treatment of architecture and decoration. The image and the figures must have been drawn from life, for they portray the worship in a Vishnavite temple with great accuracy; the priests and

Plate 24

Plate 23

devotees are among the most sensitive characterizations of Hindus in Mughal art and can be attributed to Bishndas, a Hindu artist.

Two miniatures from a dispersed *Gulistan* by Sa'di, a successor to Akbar's pocket size volumes, have been cut out and mounted as an album page. The picture on top, which describes the downfall of a hypocritical vizier, is probably by Manohar, the son of Basawan. The lower miniature concerns a fraudulent pilgrim and his undoing by a courtier who had seen him at a quite unholy place. The artist, possibly Ghulam Mirza, has succeeded to some extent in casting off his Persian ways, but he is betrayed by the drawing of trees and architecture. Plate 25, a & b

While courtly episodes far outnumbered scenes of conquest during his reign, a dozen or so of Jahangir's historical miniatures have come down to us. One of the best describes the birth of a prince, conceivably Kerim, who was to rule as Shah Jahan. His mother was a Hindu, and the celebrations in honor of the event combine Muslim and Hindu customs. As musicians sing and drum in a court by the bedchamber, Hindus attended by Muslims cast a horoscope below, outside the harem curtain. Each figure is an accurate portrait, and no detail, however trivial, has escaped scrutiny: textiles, turbans, the infant's crib, jewelry — all have been put before us with marvelous exactitude. The picture is unsigned but can be ascribed to Bishndas, who probably painted it during the first decade of the reign as it retains compositional elements from Akbar's time. Plate 26

A visit to Jahangir's palace must have been like experiencing a picture gallery, decorative arts museum, and zoo all at once. For, in addition to being a patron and connoisseur, Jahangir was a collector of many and varied interests. His agents traveled continuously in search of all that was rare and curious: European and Persian manuscripts and pictures, *objets de vertu*, birds, animals, and even humans. If they fitted, the prints, paintings, or calligraphies, such as the page of Persian script (*nastaliq*) by Mir Ali al Sultani, were put into albums after being given superb borders, decorated with conventionalized flowers, scenes, or portraits by the finest court artists. But if something that interested the emperor could not otherwise be put into his albums, it was likely to become the subject of a portrait. Many studies of this sort have survived and they are valuable clues to Plate 27

the ruler's personality and aesthetic philosophy. For the albums seem to have been Jahangir's (The World-seizer's) condensed world, a microcosm of his passions. As one might expect, considering their function, these pictures were painted in the closest possible imitation of nature. They were, however, more than mere descriptions through the media of color, texture, and shape; their magical actuality is also the result of the artists' grasp of the spirit of the things they painted.

A preparatory study for an album painting was done from life, or near death, at the order of Jahangir, whose curiosity was at times almost indecent. Inayat Khan's health had so deteriorated due to opium and wine that when he was brought to court in a palanquin Jahangir was, in his own words, "astonished." "He was skin drawn over bones. Or rather, his bones, too, had dissolved. Though painters had striven much in drawing an emaciated face, I have never seen anything like this, not even approaching it. Good God, can a son of man come to such a shape and fashion...? As it was a very extraordinary case, I directed painters to take his portrait.... Next day, he travelled the road to non-existence."

Plate 28

Jahangir was often painted but he was seldom subjected to the all-seeing eyes his artists focused in his behalf on others. For a new kind of image had come from Europe during the early years of the seventeenth century—the state portrait. Its purpose was not to present the individual as such, but rather to evoke his majesty. In a state portrait, the ruler's superiority and remoteness should triumph over his warts and other defects; any suggestion of his precise appearance might break the spell. The solemnity of Jahangir's office is well preserved in a painting of a formal audience to Prince Parviz in 1619, when Jahangir was fifty-one. Although he faces his son and an infant grandson, Jahangir's face is impassive and mask-like. But in contrast to the serene hauteur of the emperor and his entourage, courtiers, a horse, and an elephant jostle one another in the court below. It would be tempting to think that these animated, lesser beings had been forced to pose for Jahangir's picture; this is, however, far from the truth. Although these portraits seem remarkably alive, they were made, as Ivan Stchoukine has pointed out, from tracings kept in the studios. Some of the men represented had been dead for years. It appears

Plate 30

that in this page, probably from the *Jahangir-nama*, the crowd as well as the emperor are symbolic images.

Another sort of state portrait was probably based upon Elizabethan prototypes which abound in comparable conceits. Although a more complicated example might show the emperor shooting arrows at the head of a cringing enemy while standing on a map of the world (*his* world), the type is here represented by a miniature in which Jahangir gazes at a portrait of Akbar, who offers him a globe. Once again, the likeness is austere, although there is perhaps a suggestion here on the part of Abu'l Hasan, the artist, that he knew of Jahangir's ambivalent relationship to his father. For while Jahangir revered Akbar to the point of worship, he had once rebelled against him and had arranged for the murder of Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's biographer. Plate 29

A portrait of the emperor in the heat of an embrace comes as a surprise after what we have seen. Passionate and intimate in mood, this miniature brings Jahangir so far down from his throne that one wonders as to its meaning. Does it portray love as a ritual act of kings? Or is it an intensely personal document intended only for the eyes of the emperor and his beloved? Or, as seems more likely, does it represent, as on the coin in which he holds a wine cup, Jahangir's view of himself as the supreme man of pleasure, the super-*human* being? This explanation would seem consistent with the absence of the halo, which was by this time generally included in portraits of the emperor. Ivan Stchoukine has identified the wife as Nur Jahan, the Persian widow whom Jahangir married in 1611 when she was thirty-four. The personification of feminine power, she eventually so dominated her husband that he issued coins in her name and elevated her relatives to the highest positions in the realm. Her father Itimad-ud Daulah's tomb is one of the most sumptuous in India. Ivan Stchoukine justifiably attributes the picture to Govardhan, whose heavily modeled forms stress the passionate intention of the picture, and whose deep romanticism is well suited to the subject. Plate 32 Fig 2

The long period of peace under enlightened Mughal despotism is exemplified by an outdoor portrait of the deputy rulers of Gujerat, who knew that they could enjoy tranquil, undisturbed lives provided they were Plate 31

obedient to their overlord. Bishndas painted them about 1618, which was virtually the same year in which Abu'l Hasan, to whom Jahangir had given the title *Nadir al Zaman* ("The Wonder *of the Age*") painted an infant prince. The subject is perhaps Shah Shuja, the second son of Shah Jahan, who has been caught somewhere between a smile and a shriek of delight as he leans against a bolster that has been painted metaphorically as a clump of leaves.

Plate 31

Another picture by Abu'l Hasan brings us to one of the special glories of Mughal art, Jahangir's animal studies, which were painted for the condensed world of the albums. One of the most impressive of the small number that have survived is a picture of birds and squirrels in a plane tree, which invites comparison to Durer. As in the portrait of the prince, Abu'l Hasan has painted the spirit as well as the outer form. One can almost hear the chatter of the birds and animals frightened by the approach of the fowler. Compositional subtleties invariably lie beneath the surface of Jahangir's pictures. Admire the delightful pattern and buoyant rhythms of the squirrels' tails against the prickly masses of foliage.

Plate 35

Alam Guman, a noble beast captured from the Rana of Mewar in 1614, was presented to Jahangir by his son, Shah Jahan. Symbolic of victory over the leading Rajput noble, the great elephant was ridden by the emperor himself. It was painted at play with its calves by a painter who obviously shared the special sympathy of all Indians for elephants.

Plate 36

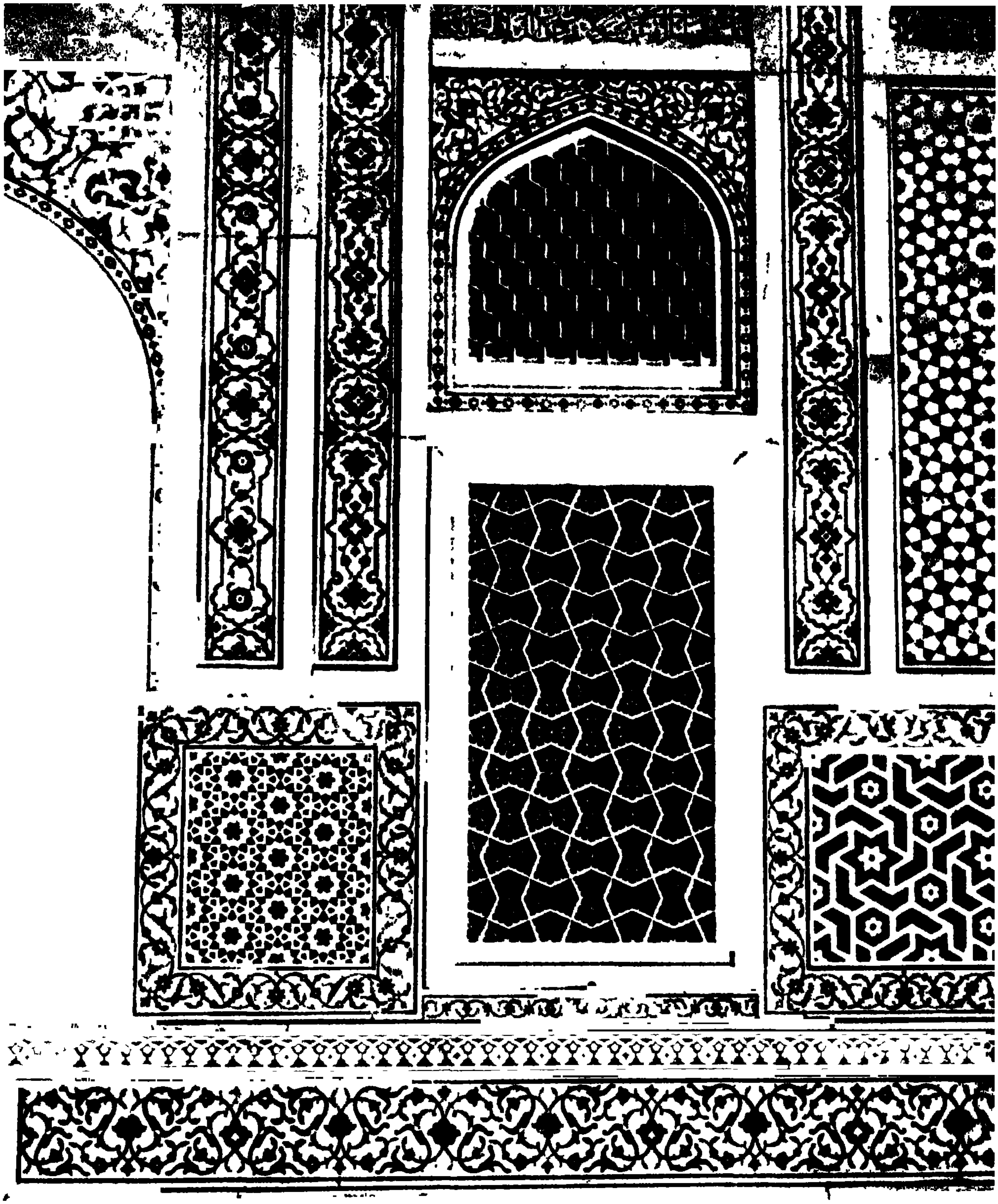
In Mughal India, art patronage was not exclusively a royal prerogative. Virtually all of the Rajput nobles employed painters, as did a few of the Moslems, although a book factory at Agra, which was staffed by artists cast off from the royal workshops, supplied most of the sub-imperial bibliophiles. A picture of Sita and Lakshman from a Persian translation of the *Mahabharata* was painted by Fazl in about 1616. His work is found in several manuscripts made for Abdur Rahim, a great courtier, general, and poet of Akbar's time, who lived through most of Jahangir's reign. Picture parallels patron: both are old-fashioned in their sympathy for Hinduism, which was now beginning to lose its hold on the Mughal court. The first inklings of the disruption of Hindu-Moslem cooperation were now apparent.

Plate 33

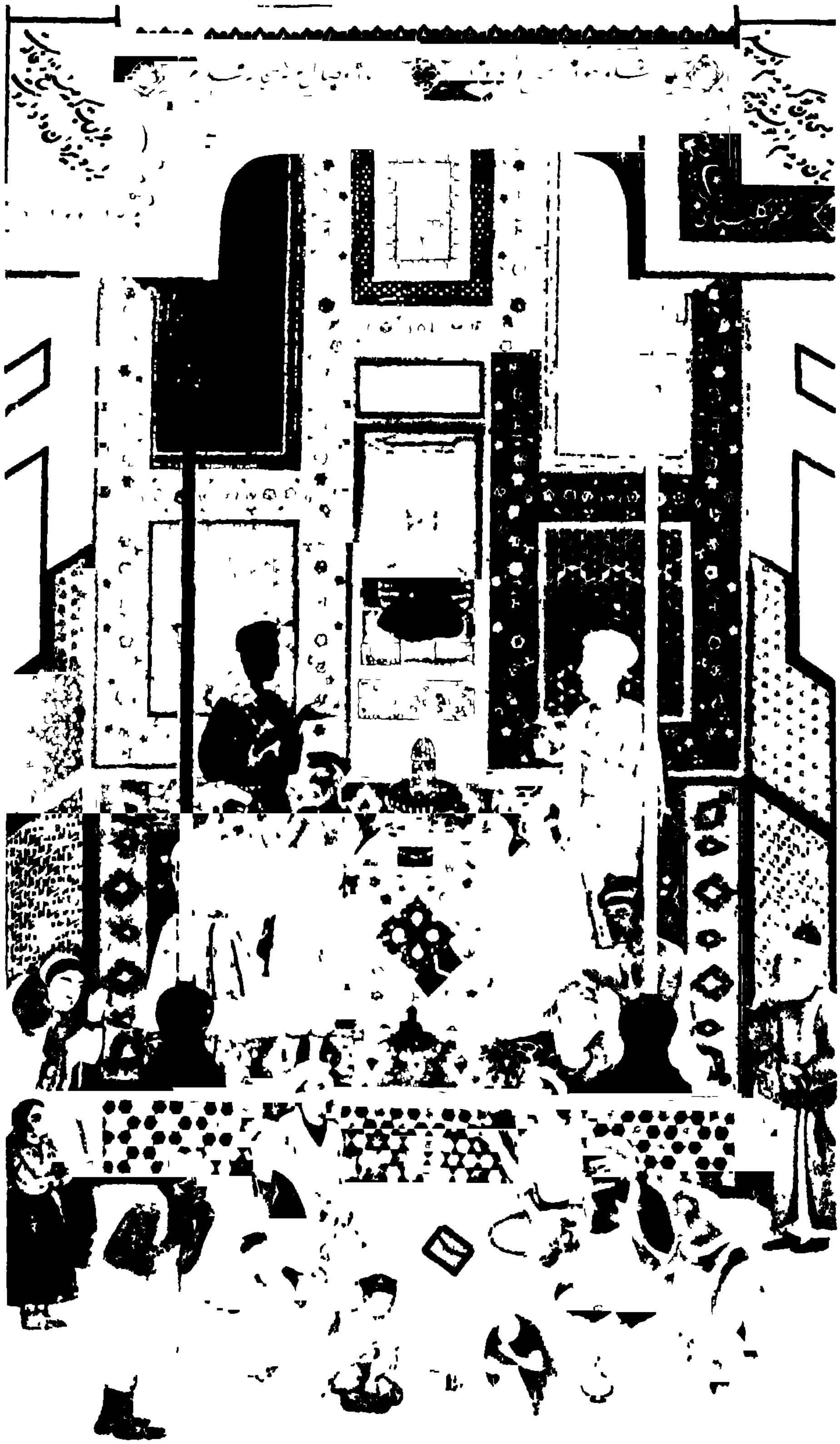
The decorative arts also flourished in this age. Hawkins, an Englishman, saw many of Jahangir's jades, including five hundred wine cups, but such things are now excessively rare, and reliably inscribed pieces are almost non-existent. What little we know of jade, crystal, and metalwork is based mainly on their representations in paintings. Occasionally, an object, such as a wine cup of pale green jade in the form of a veined leaf with a flower as its base, can be related to a similar object in a picture. More often, as with an ivory powder horn carved with birds and animals of early type, one must depend more upon intuitive feel to establish the date. Plate 38 Plate 39

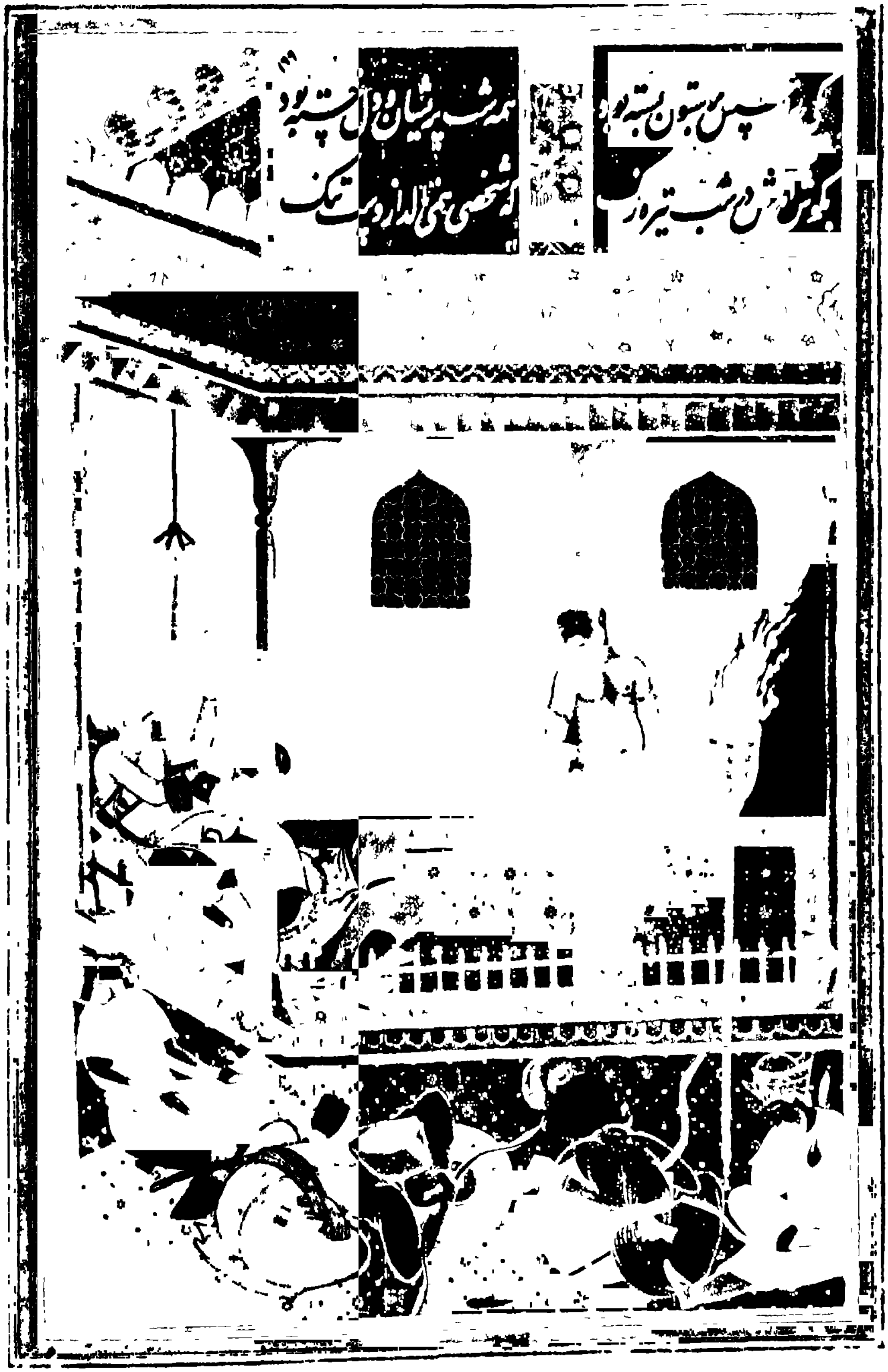
Textiles invariably reveal the wear of time and are, therefore, less problematical as to their age than metal, ivory, and stone pieces. A rug fragment with a design of fighting elephants can be dated confidently to the first part of Jahangir's reign. Not only does it look its age, but also it can be related in design to the pictorial carpet of the late Akbar period, from which it is but a step removed. It is also stylistically similar to the datable tile designs of the fort at Lahore. Plate 40

A satin coat, embroidered in silks with a pattern of birds, animals, flowers, and rocks, is one of the most sumptuous of Mughal objects. It is a later development of one worn by a huntsman in Mansur's portrait (*see Plate 19*) and can also be connected in design with a plum-colored coat worn by a courtier in a Jahangir-period painting now in Leningrad. Plate 41



ig 2




پس ستون بسته بود
همه شب پریشان و دل خسته بود
بگوش آمدش در شب تیره رنگ
که شخصی همی نالد











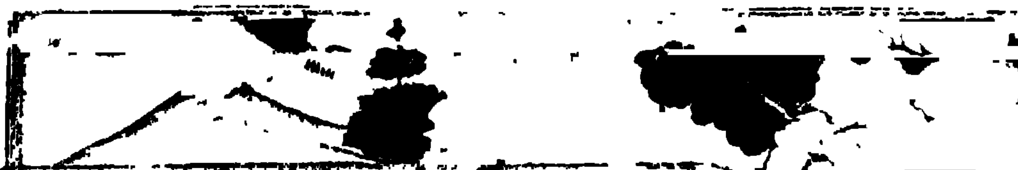


شبیه حضرت جهانگیر پادشاه که شبیه حضرت اکبر پادشاه را می بیند





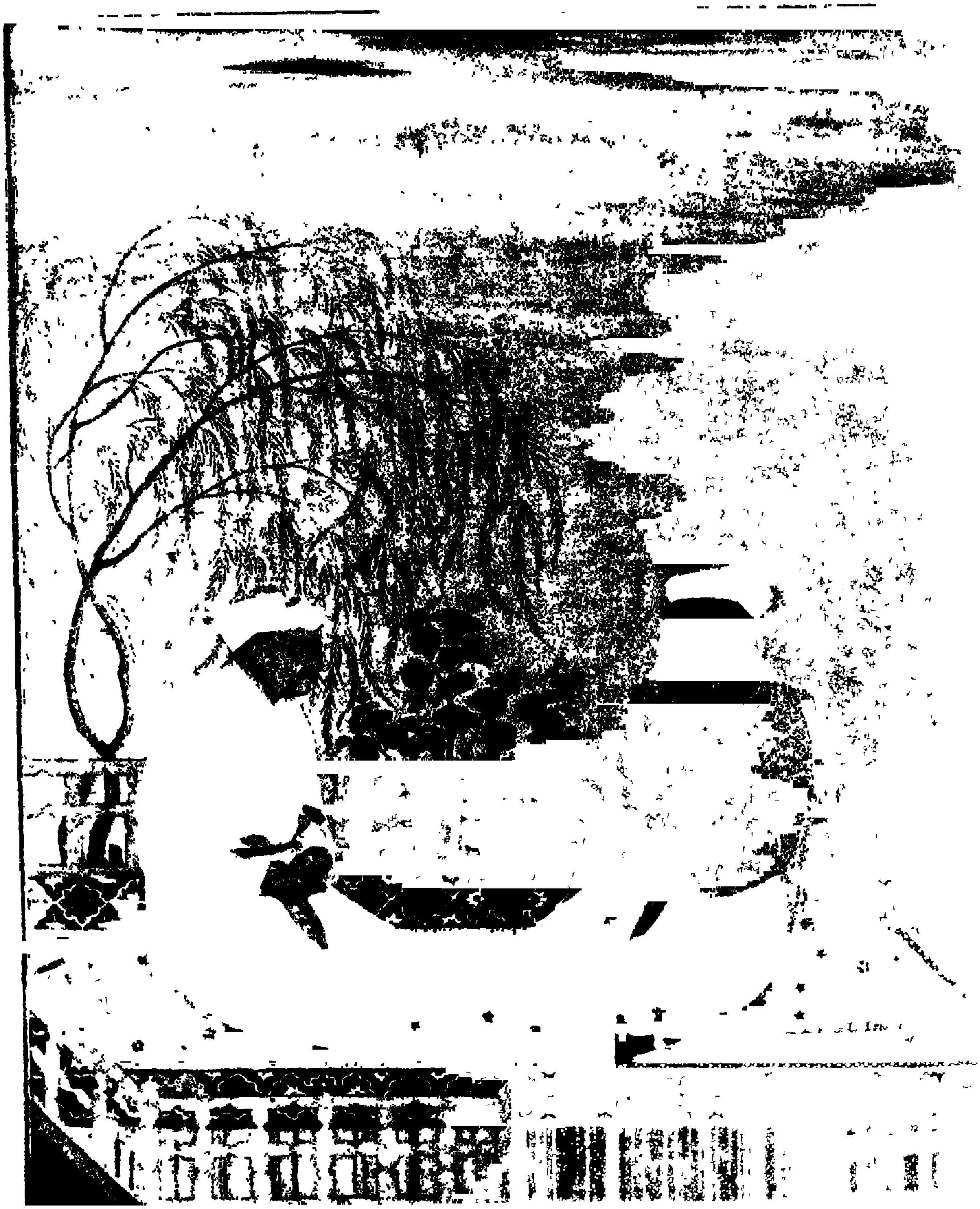






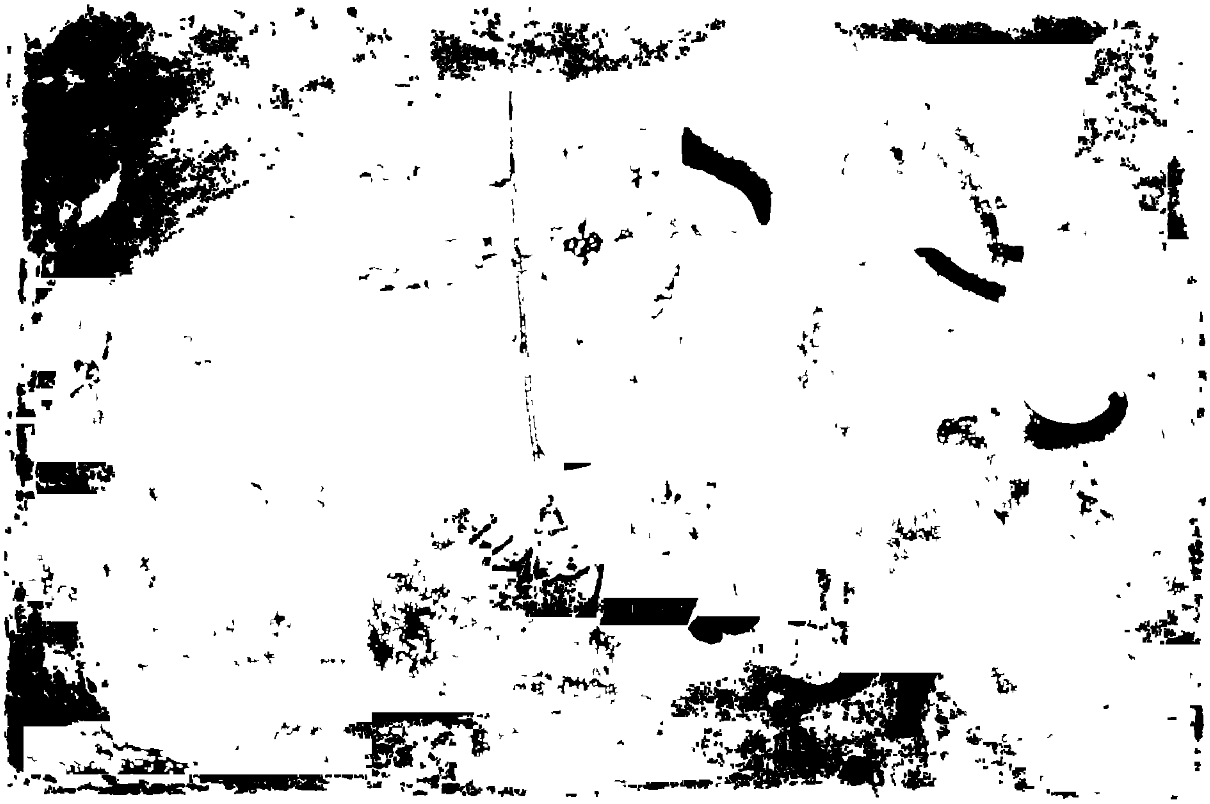
میکردید ند حالا اصلا از انجا عت بکی را نمی بینم و دیدی که از آتش هوم بر میخواست
چه حالا انها یان نیست وا وا تخواندن بیدها که دکیسران میخواهند حالا بگوش من
نیرسید الجن گفت دکیسران و عیال و اطفال ایشان از کسانی که بینند کی کناه و نا
کار و پاکیزه رونکار بوده باشند و بید ابر هرکار ان می شنوند و ما و تو چون از
ماجرا ام جدا افتاده ایم کناهکار شده ایم از ان جهت چشم دکیسران نمی بیند و گوش ما
خواندن بید را نمی شنود الجن این سخنان گفته بنیاد گریه کرد و گفت ای سیتا آن [illegible]
کر تو میخواهی جای دیگر است و رام ترا از خود جدا کرده باینجا فرستاده است
بجهت بدنامی وطعن خلایق و من بفرموده او ترا باینجا اورده ام تا درین جنگل ترا
گذاشته بروم و من چه کار کنم اگر بحکم او کار نمیکنم کنهکار میشوم و مراد در دنیا و
نیان نخواهد داشت سیتا از شنیدن این سخنان بیهوش گشت و چنانچه نهال [illegible]
را از بیخ برکنند و بیفتد بر زمین افتاد چنانچه الجن را گمان شد که مگر سیتا وفات کرد
الجن بنیاد گریه و زاری کرد و بدامن برو سایه انداخت و دست بدعا برداشته
گفت خداوندا تو دانا و بینایی اگر مرا ابد کار تو را جه هست و میدانی که من بصدق
و اعتقاد بندگی تو کرده ام و رام را [illegible] منست بدا در دست نزهت کرده
این عورت را زود بحال خود بیاورد چون سیتا بدعا و زاری کرد سیتا اندکی بهوش



















39





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PART FOUR

SHAH JAHAN

Shah Jahan outwardly capable—government becomes more rigid—Akbar's policies of religious toleration begin to conflict with growing formality of the ruler & court —builder of the Taj Mahal.

THE AGE of Shah Jahan was one of white marble inlaid with jewels, if not actually an age of gold. He sat upon the sumptuously incrusted Peacock Throne and built that most renowned of Indian monuments, the Taj Mahal, as the tomb for his wife, who died after having borne fourteen children. The reign was peaceful — auspicious for architects, goldsmiths, and lapidaries, who flocked to court with baubles for an emperor who delighted in precious stones as his father had in paintings. But there is something faintly sinister in Shah Jahan's preoccupation; for the empire had begun to assume the glacial hardness of the stones he so admired. Richer and bigger than ever, the state was nonetheless petrifying. Outwardly Shah Jahan was an able, active ruler who prided himself on the justice of his laws, the symbolic scales of which became one of his attributes; but he became increasingly orthodox and formal in his thinking and this tended to interfere with Akbar's religious policies, the mainstay of the empire. Fig 3

Shah Jahan's state portraits became progressively stiffer. Painters now felt constrained to record only what was suited to the full court; one cannot imagine a picture of him kissing his wife, wine cup in hand. He preferred to be seen in fullest glory; as a votive image of a state cult, or as its leading player in an allegorical dumb-show. Whether he was shown simply standing with his hands crossed, as in a portrait from his fortieth year by Bichitr, or in a complex scene with angels hovering overhead, the effect was somehow airless. However masterful the painting, however Plate 43

refulgent the halo, and however jewel-like the color — for the emperor's love for precious stones influenced painting too — the space round Shah Jahan had become a vacuum in which he was hermetically isolated.

While official images predominated, miniatures were still painted for the less formal family inspection. In one of these, by Govardhan, whose amorous Jahangir we have seen, the emperor is again allowed to breathe. He rides across an arid, vacant landscape with Dara Shukoh, his favorite son, who holds a parasol over him, symbolic of authority. It was painted in 1632 in a mysterious palette of dust-color, gold, and amethyst. (Plate 42)

Still less formal is a magnificent portrait of Shah Shuja, the emperor's second son, who is enthroned with Raja Gaj Singh of Marwar in commemoration of their service together in the Deccan. One senses, through the restraint and dignity, a shared emotion -- anxiety. For although the fort at Ahmednagar had been captured, things were not going well for the empire in this campaign. The gold throne, worked in high relief, the European putti, and the treatment of the figures suggest that this painting is by Bichitr, who was here allowed more freedom to explore character than in his likeness of Shah Jahan. (Plate 41)

An intense romanticism lay beneath the outward formality of the age. Its central monument, the Taj Mahal, was in fact only half of a complex intended to commemorate Shah Jahan's love for his wife, Mumtaz Mahal; had the emperor's plans been fulfilled, a black marble tomb for himself would have been a dark reflection of hers. The concept of romantic love was expressed in a miniature of a young couple embracing on a terrace, in which the lovers have lost themselves in one another. This is the direct opposite of the state portrait, in which the identity of the sitter is lost in ritual formality. The atmosphere, plasticity, and emphasis on the softness of lips and flesh, as well as many details of ornament, argue that this picture is by Govardhan. (Plate 17)

The philosophical and contemplative aspects of Mughal life are represented by four mullahs, who enjoy the late afternoon breezes in what appears to be a slightly Indianized Dutch landscape. The attitudes of the holy men, who wear everyday dress, have been observed with all the sympathetic affection deliberately withheld from likenesses of the less humble (Plate 46)

on state occasions. Although the mood is timeless, each man is stopped as if by a fast lens: one tugs his beard, another plays nervously with beads, and a third, hand outstretched, ponders what he has read.

History painting was continued on a grand scale in the *Shah Jahan-nama* of the Windsor Castle Library, which is dated to the end of the reign. It contains 43 miniatures, some of which were added at Lucknow or Faizabad during the eighteenth century. Conventional court subjects predominate, but there are also magnificent processions, crowded with the panoply of the Great Mogul, hunting scenes, weddings, and battles. Of these, a horrifying miniature of the death of Khan Jahan Lodi, a rebellious Afghan, underscores the cruel brutality behind the decorous facade. The superabundance of severed heads may have been inspired by the gory martyrdoms concocted in Europe for sacred purposes. The painting is signed, appropriately on a knife handle, by Abid, the brother of Abu'l Hasan. Fig 1

But let us leave the butcher shop and return to the formal safety of the palace. Everything the emperor touched in this aesthetic period was suitably imperial. Shah Jahan's rooms, tents, coats, weapons — all the paraphernalia of life — were carved, painted, woven, or inlaid with floral sprays. Heraldic flowers, generally poppies, burgeoned wherever the emperor went; armies of craftsmen must have been needed to create and look after the precious flower beds. Many of the objects were so delicate that to use them was to destroy them. A white jade cup carved for Shah Jahan in 1657 has somehow survived intact, though its edges were polished to paper thinness. The hollow and base are flower-shaped, and from them a sensitively observed ibex head emerges in a poetic metamorphosis. The image of flower into animal is exceedingly moving. Fig 5

Shah Jahan's lapidaries respected the integrity of the precious materials which they carved and ground with a wonderful sympathy for color, hardness, and refraction. An inscribed ruby, though polished, retains the appeal of its pristine unevenness, and a wine pot, based upon a Chinese form, has been worked to bring out the lustrous transparency of rock crystal. Its handle and finial are modeled after a lotus bud, an example of the craftman's typically Mughal (and Indian) transformation of the growing Plates 49 & 51

PART FOUR

Plate 54

Plates 18 & 50

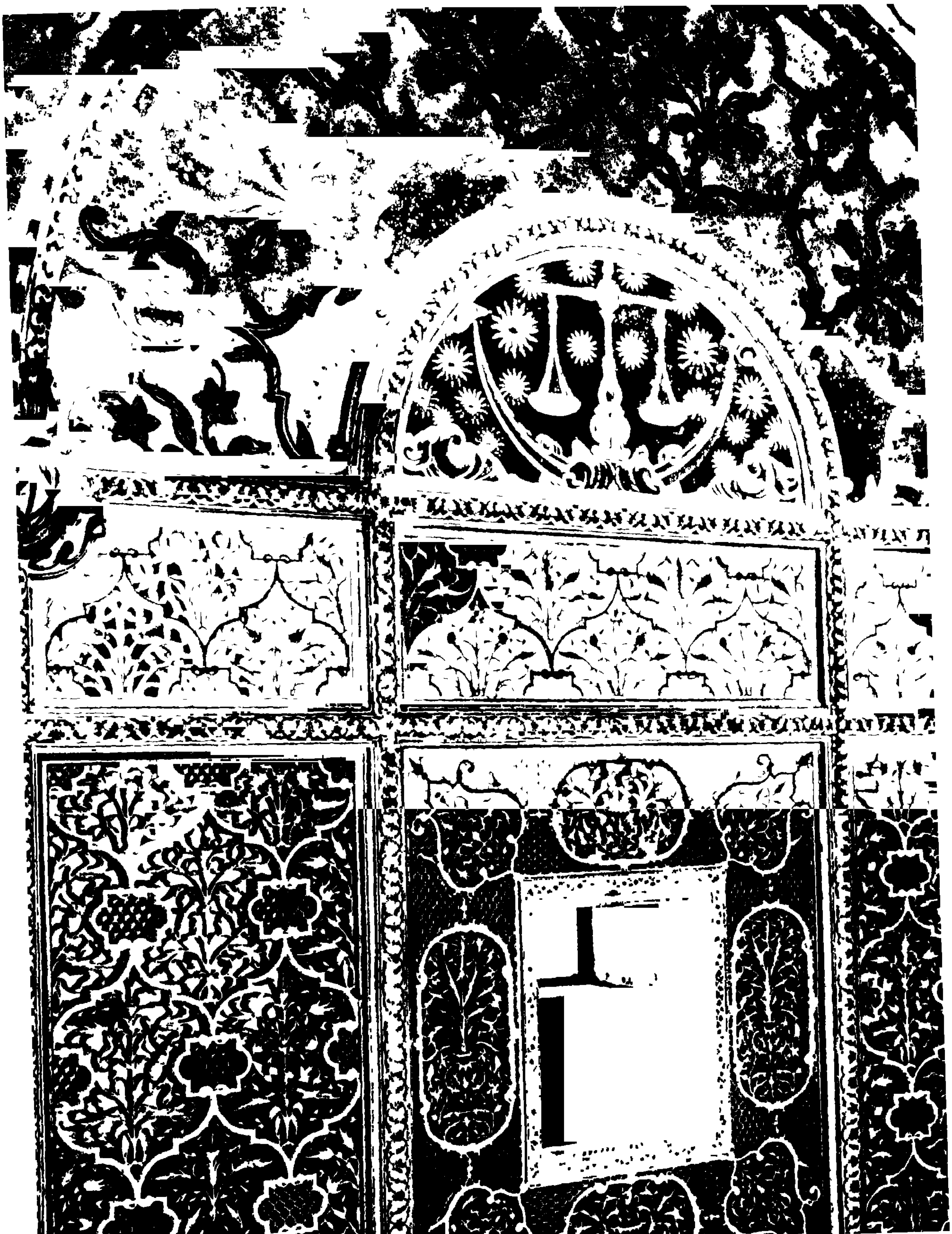
Plate 55

Plates 52 & 53

forms of nature into art. This is also apparent in a mango-shaped rock crystal lime container and in several jade objects whose designs make pleasant allusions to fruits and flowers and remind us that in India leaves and petals are still used in serving food. A dark green lobed cup is as cool and firm as the gourd it resembles, while a pale olive one based upon a lotus is so convincingly flower-like that one virtually senses its fragrance. A skin-close network of flowers emphasizes the taut volume of a dark green jade box which was suggested by an Alphonso mango. Other pieces, such as a spinach-coloured jade bowl with foliate handles and an agate bowl, depend more upon sensitive line and rightness of proportion than upon metaphorical imagery.

Plate 56

Shah Jahan's textile designers resolved the pictorialism and asymmetry which had occasionally lent unrestful excitement to earlier work. Classical harmony and proportion were now the rule, as can be seen in a wool prayer rug with a hypnotic arrangement of blossoms which strikes a perfect balance between naturalism and abstraction.









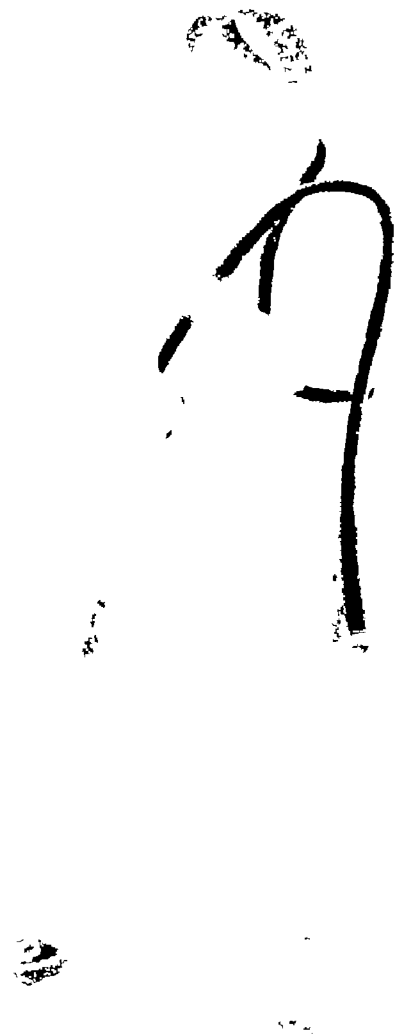


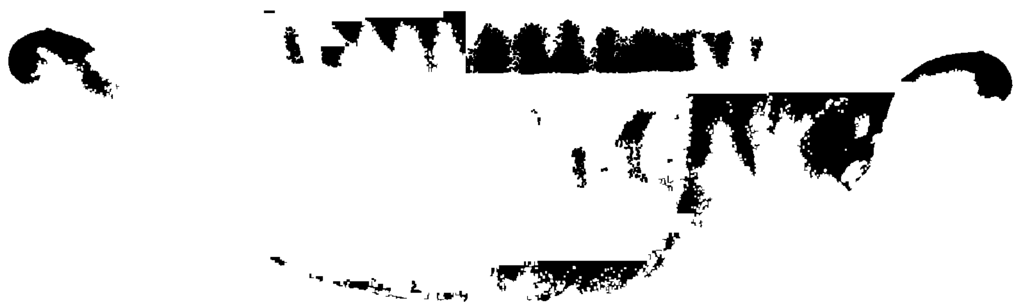




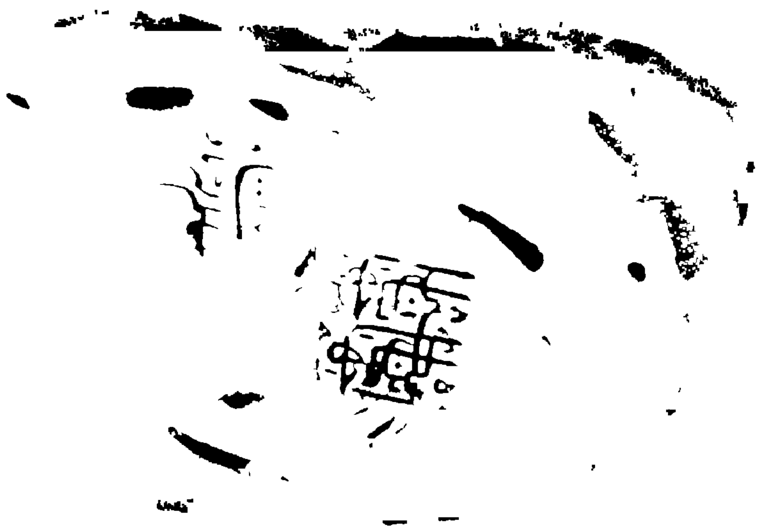




Fig 5



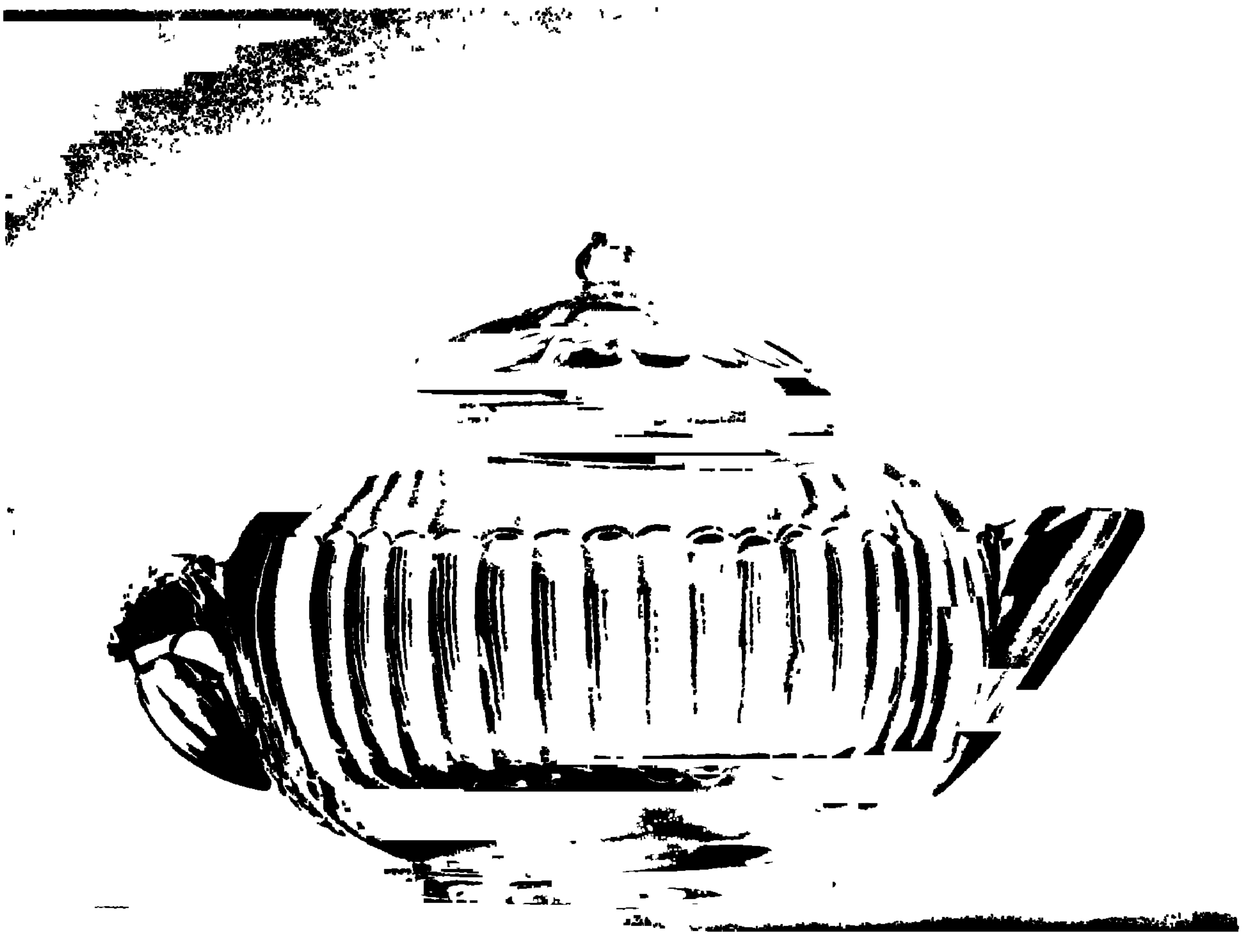




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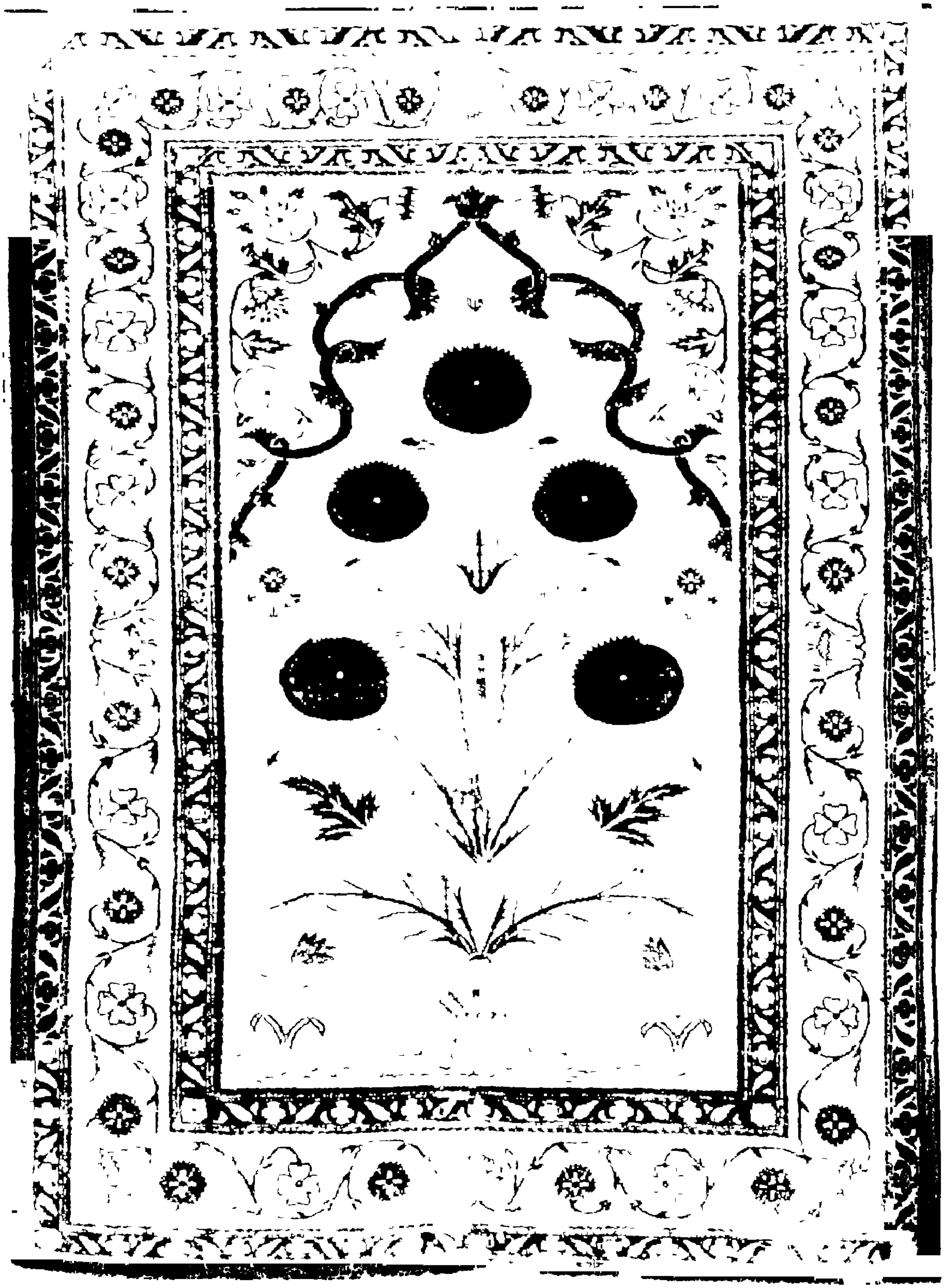


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PART FIVE

AURANGZEB

Shah Jahan overthrown by Aurangzeb—until 1678 Akbar's policies continue in force—in old age, Aurangzeb reinstates non-Moslem poll-tax—mania for fresh conquest—complete failure of imperial schemes—self-consciousness & asceticism—austerity & artistic decline.

SUCCESSION in Mughal India was decided by the relative strength of the princes, an effective if brutal method of sorting out the fittest. To make matters worse, the princes were generally too eager for the throne to wait for their father's death. Jahangir revolted against Akbar, and Shah Jahan in turn tried to topple him. The wily Aurangzeb was successful in his quest for power. After a brilliantly ruthless campaign in which he overcame his brothers by force, by fraud, and by traps baited with their own cupidity, he imprisoned his father in Agra Fort.

Aurangzeb's reign can be divided into two parts: before 1678 he was a less sympathetic version of his father; he tolerated Hindus and abided by most of Akbar's precepts. Later, after he had turned sixty, his character, already legalistic and rigid, degenerated. He became a bigot. On the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Marwar in 1678, Aurangzeb tried to seize his principality, an act of extraordinary meanness considering that the Maharaja's heir was serving in the Mughal army at the time. He also reinstated the hated *jizya*, the poll-tax on non-Moslems. This further alienated the Rajputs, who soon became reluctant to fight for him. Aurangzeb's other grave error was overexpansion. The conquest of the Deccan had long been a Mughal aspiration; with Aurangzeb it became a mania. Much of his long reign was spent waging wars against Golconda, Bijapur, and the Marathas and when at last he seemed to have defeated them, the victory dissolved into a welter of guerrilla fighting.

Aurangzeb was brilliantly unsuccessful. Intelligent and industrious, he could even be sympathetic. He was utterly devoted to the empire which he weakened so lovingly, and in old age his personal habits were almost touchingly ascetic. When he was not scribbling orders, he copied out Korans. Nevertheless, all his ambitious projects ended badly, and he knew it. On his deathbed, Aurangzeb wrote to his sons: "...my years have gone by profitless. God has been in my heart, yet my darkened eyes have not recognized his light.... There is no hope for me in the future.... The army is confounded, and without help or heart, even as I am...I have greatly sinned and know not what torment awaits me."

At first, Aurangzeb expressed none of the anti-artistic sentiments that in later years inspired him to cast out painters, musicians, and craftsmen. He was often painted and, if anything, the royal artists worked with increased zeal on his behalf. An audience scene of orange, blue-green, and gold, in which the emperor holds a falcon as he received his third son, Sultan Azam, ranks high among state portraits. Although the emperor's profile is suitably inscrutable, the prince's expression is lively and the noblemen are animated by discreet smiles and courtly glances. In a larger reception picture, perhaps from a historical manuscript, Aurangzeb sits on the Peacock Throne, the very quintessence of the Great Mogul. One of the noblemen (at the lower right) also appears in an imperial hunt which contains some of the finest landscape and animals in Mughal art. Kneeling in the scrubby jungle, Aurangzeb shoots nilgai with the ritual impassivity of an ancient Assyrian king.

Plate 59

Plate 58

Fig 6

In 1665, an imperial order banned the making of the birds, animals, and figures which had been made for children on festival days. According to orthodox Muslim tradition, the making of such things usurps the prerogative of God. And Aurangzeb was now nothing if not orthodox. It seems likely that this was the time when he also shut down the painting ateliers and turned against music and poetry. Later, he also forbade the weaving of gold cloth. Life cannot have been much fun at the Mughal court.

But it was impossible to deprive the princes and nobles of their pleasures: patronage continued, though *sub rosa* and on a less lavish scale. A

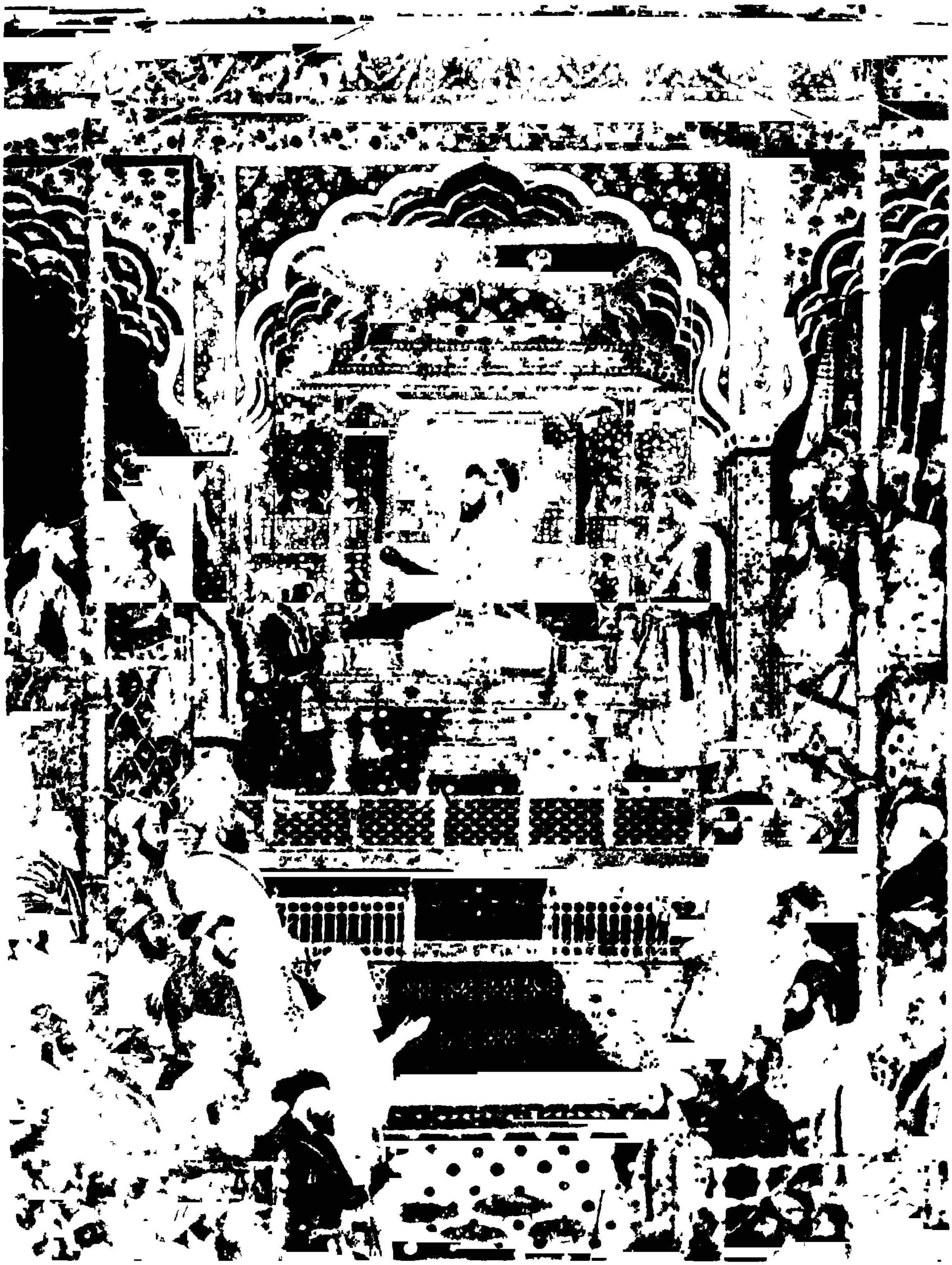
night picture of a Hindu girl at worship before a fire carries on the romantic vein from Shah Jahan's reign. Here, the artist's turning of the flame into a pleasing symmetry parallels the jade carvers' pattern-making; or, for that matter, the silver workers', which can be seen in a charming beaker decorated with formalized flower and cloud motifs. It may once have been inlaid with enamels, a technique that had by now come into fashion as a less costly substitute for inset precious stones. Plate 60 Plate 61

As the century progressed, ornament gradually lost its sensitive relationship to nature. The flowers in a gold and enamel lota, of about 1700, are no longer flower-like. Their identity has disappeared in the craftsman's concentration upon decorative and rhythmic pattern. Plate 62

Weapons are among the most splendid examples of Mughal decorative art. Opulent in direct ratio to their owner's rank, they were made by jewelers and armorers who often worked in happy collaboration. A particularly rich dagger, with a fine watered steel blade and a hilt of grape jade set with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, can be seen in painted form at the waist of Aurangzeb (*see Plate 59*). Hilts were also fashioned of silver, crystal, walrus ivory, and other bones, and some of them are small masterpieces of animal sculpture that bring to mind Achaemenian art. With all their preciousness, Mughal weapons have the look and feel of lethal efficiency. The stocks and barrels of matchlocks and the blades and hilts of swords and daggers were matched for perfect balance as well as for appearance's sake. Sometimes, the weapons hold surprises: a mace in the form of a lotus bud becomes, at the snap of a bolt, an ominous flower of steel spikes. One wonders what havoc it might have wrought on the head which wore the singularly sculptural helmet in the shape of a turban. Plates 66 & 70 Plates 66, 68, 70 & 76 Plate 69



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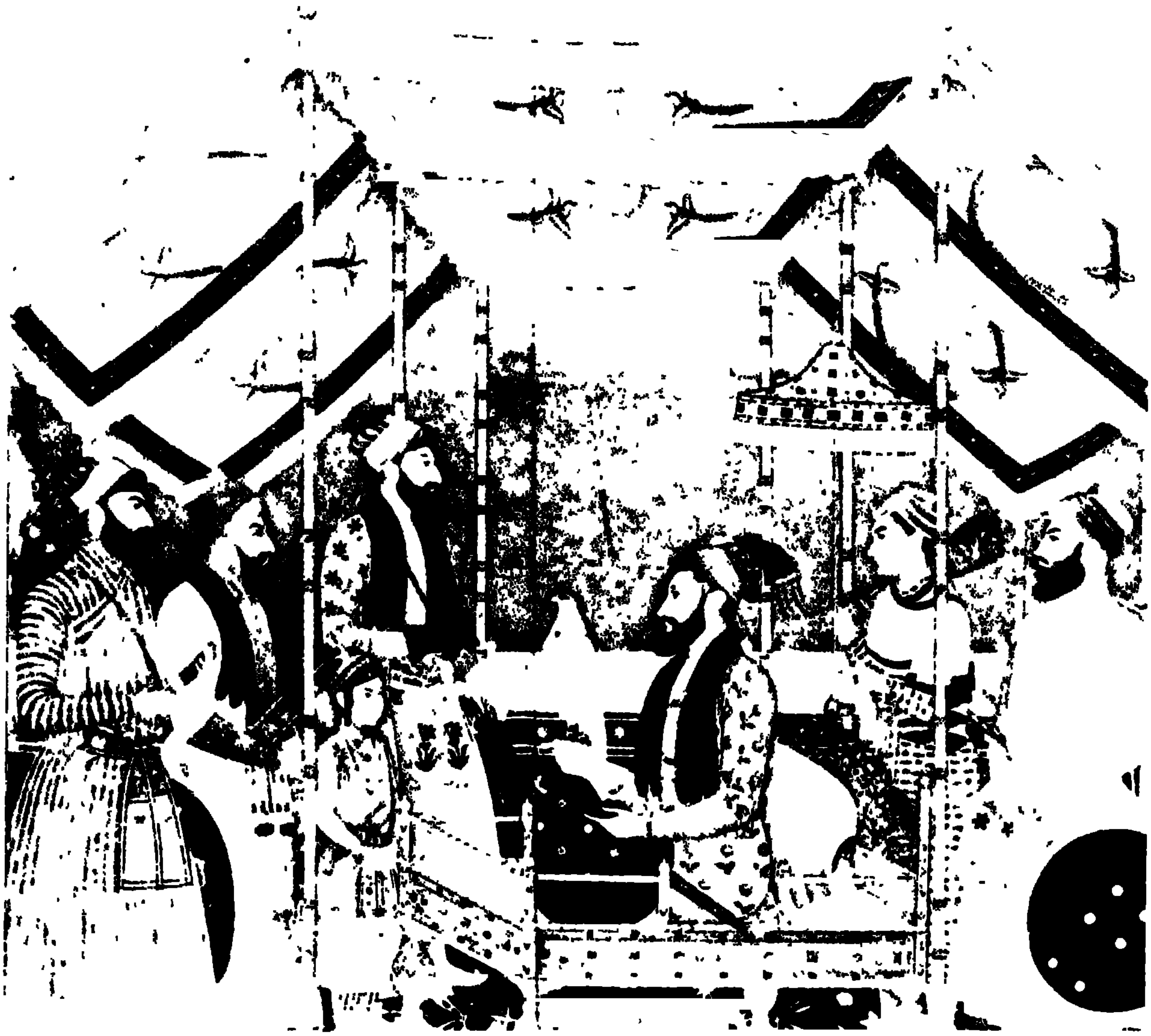




Fig 6

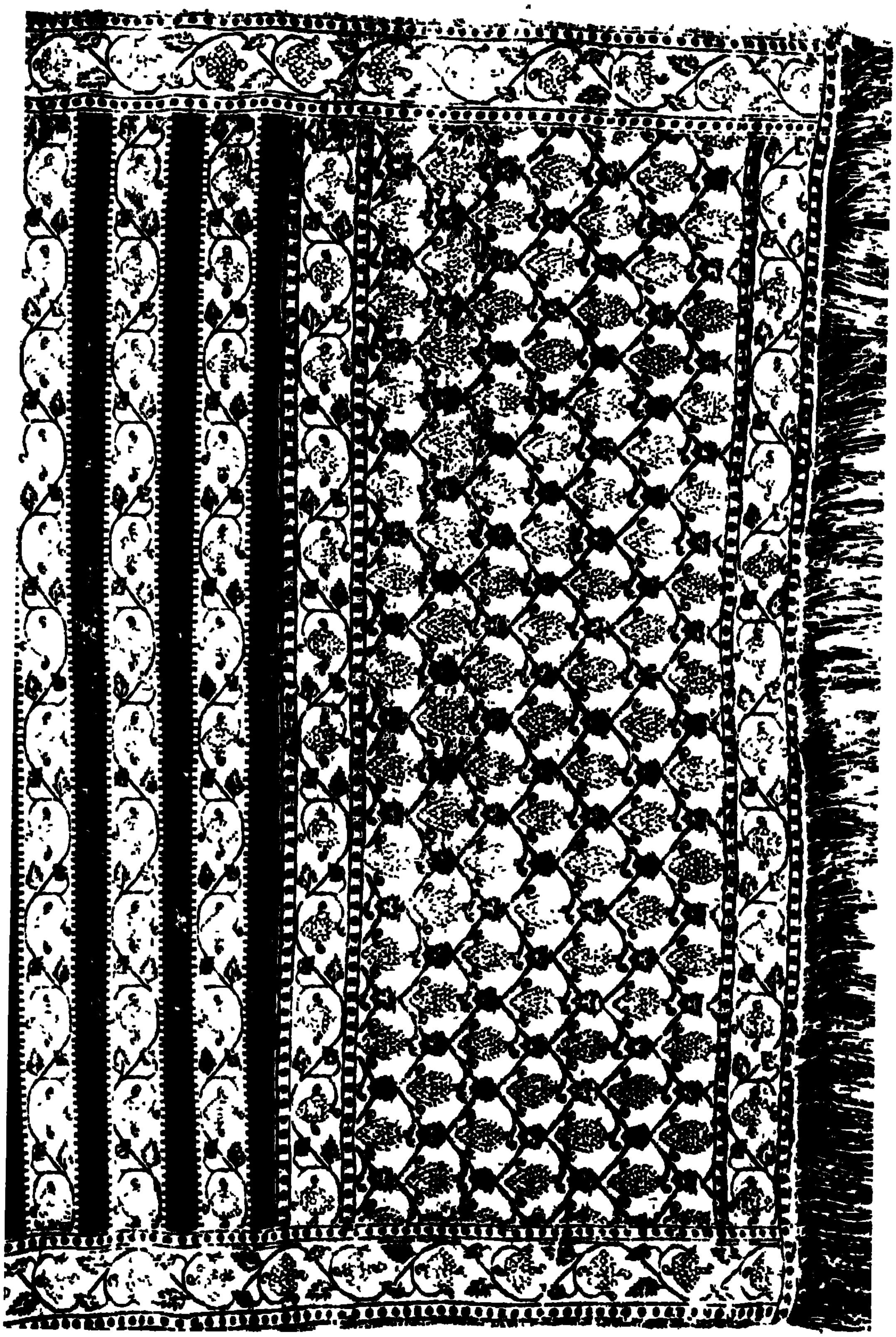


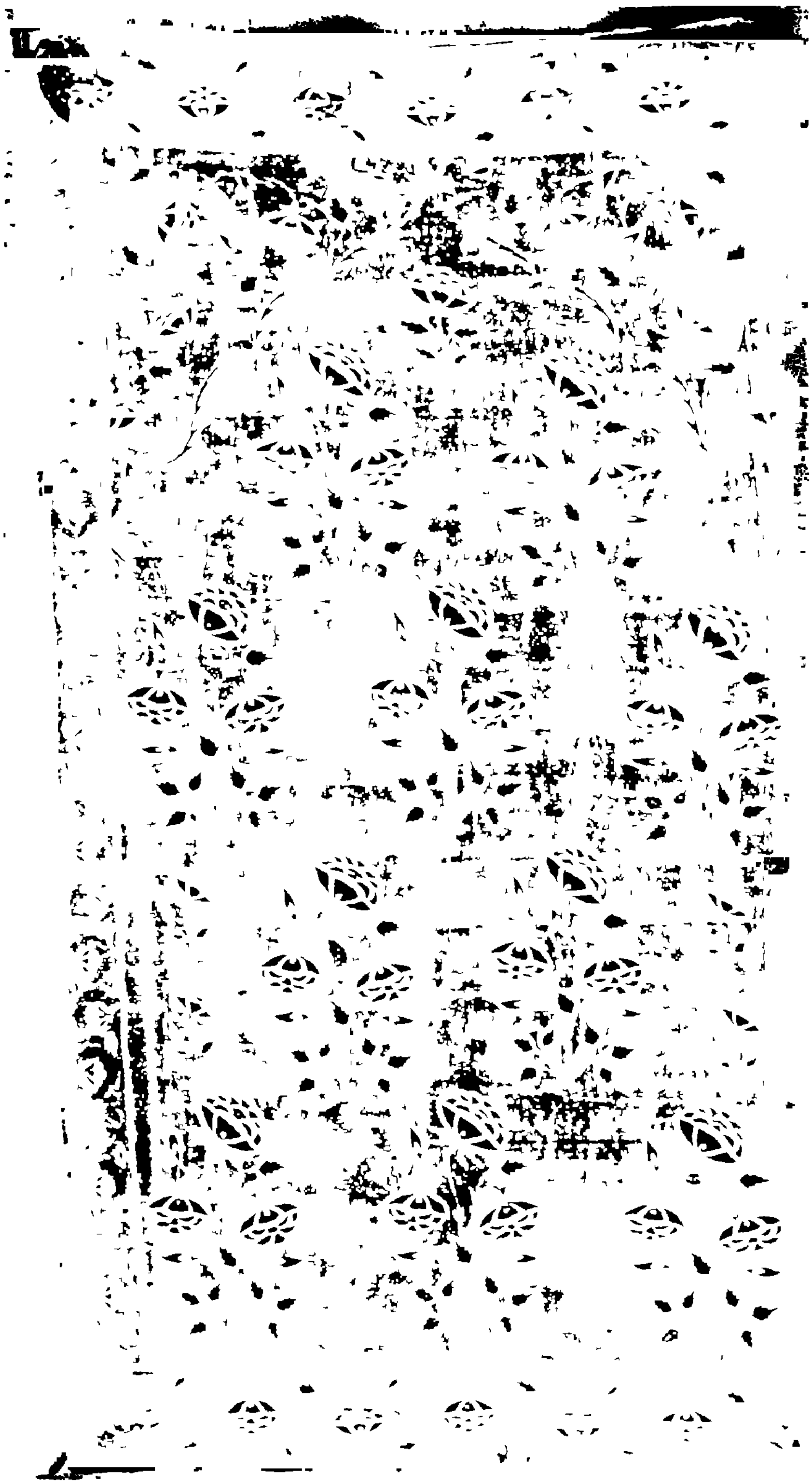


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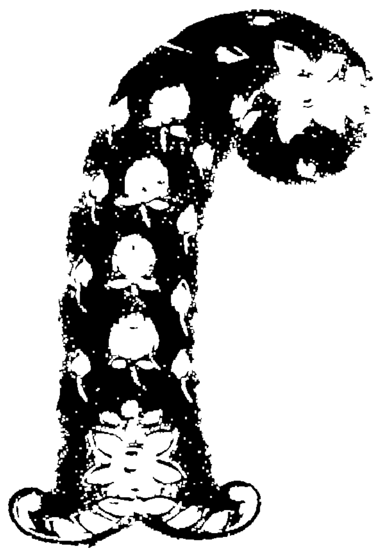












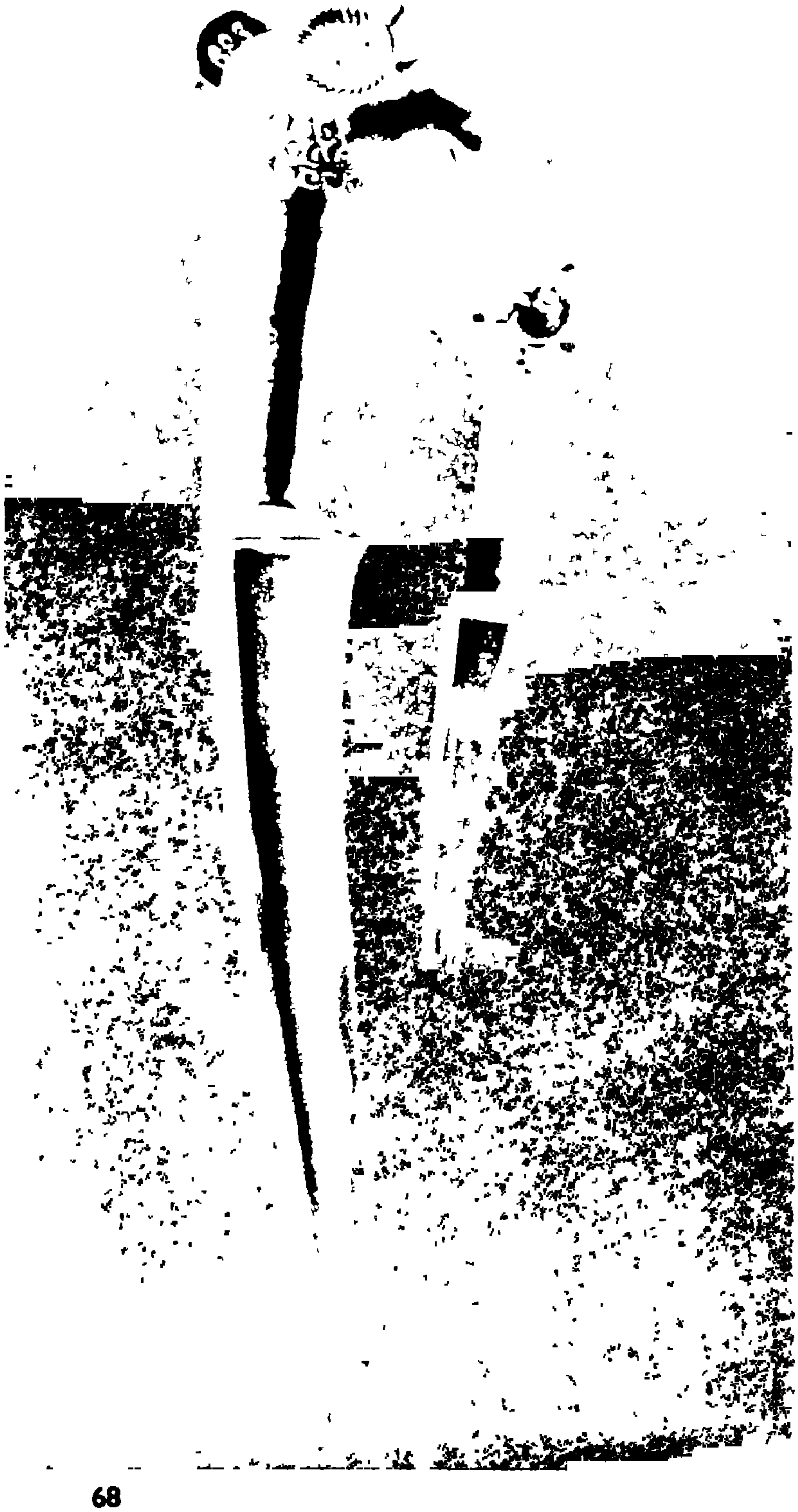




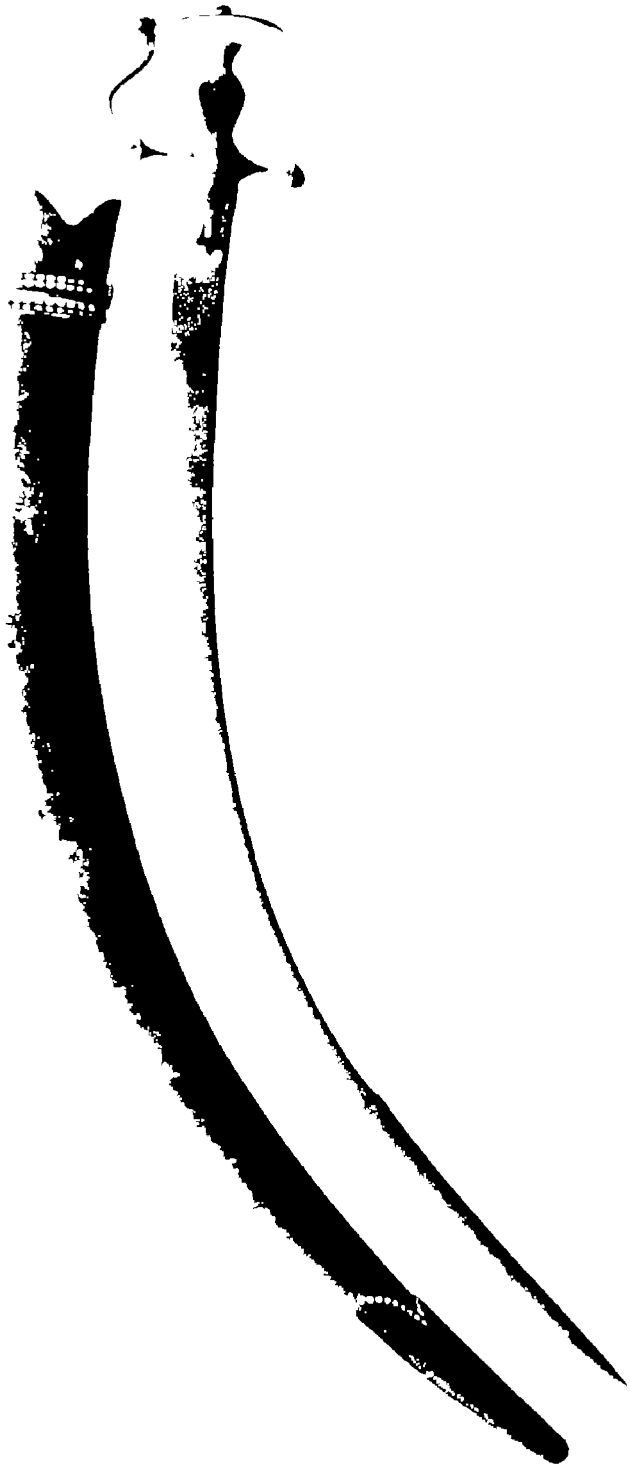




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PART SIX

THE LATER MUGHAL EMPERORS

Succession by violence "The King Makers"– Persian invasion & sack of Dehli – the dynasty continues as the pawn of rival princes British influence begins in 1765 increases after 1803—ends Mughal empire after the Mutiny of 1857.

PORTRAITS of Aurangzeb in old age—never of imperial quality—show him hunched over and emaciated, resembling a venerable praying mantis. For years, he was carried about in a palanquin from which he ruled as tirelessly as ever, but finally, he died. Mughal greatness was over although the empire was to linger on for a century and a half. Aurangzeb's sons fought over the throne, and Bahadur Shah won, at sixty-nine. In 1712, he was followed by the profligate Jahandar Shah. Farrukhsiyar, who was not much better, reached the throne a year later and ruled until 1719, when Muhammad Shah was elevated to power by the Sayyid brothers, who so dominated the empire that they were known as "The King Makers." The new emperor was dubbed *rangila* ("pleasure loving"), and he deserves some respect as a patron however feeble he may have been as a ruler. A dedicated musician, he surrounded himself with courtesans and sycophants, whose dizzy talents kept his mind off problems that might have been less serious had he attended to the government.

Muhammad Shah cared little for his state image; most of the portraits show him at play in the harem. In the earliest, a night scene, the flaccid, Pl.a
adenoidal young man enjoys the company of twenty girls in a garden with as many vanishing points as flowers. A later picture shows the emperor Pl.a
exercising with a favorite falcon in a refulgent garden enclosed by white walls against which vines and flowers are thrown into effective silhouette.

Plate 79

Perhaps also of this period is an unfinished bathing scene in which Indian heads have been fastened to nudes borrowed from a European *Diana and Her Handmaids*. However decorative, these miniatures are thinly painted and brittle in line. Artists no longer built up the enamel-like surfaces that give earlier pictures their unique glow.

In 1739, Nadir Shah, a Turkoman, who had seized the Persian throne, saw that the accumulated treasure of the Mughals was just what he needed to secure his position. He invaded and took it. There was no one to stop him. After sacking Delhi and massacring her citizens, he went back to Persia laden with spoils: the Peacock Throne, piles of gold, precious stones, crystals, jades, and manuscripts. Even after all this, however, a strong ruler might have righted the empire. Muhammad Shah was not, regrettably, a strong ruler, and he alienated the very men who could have helped. Spurned by the emperor, these powerful nobles went off to their feudatories in Oudh, in the Deccan, and in Bengal, where they set up courts that soon became more sumptuous than that of Delhi.

Stripped of its wealth and power, the Mughal empire was sustained by the force of its legend. The emperor was still the nominal sovereign, and the influence of his mandate remained. Powers capable of putting his aura to use now scrabbled for control of the Great Mogul. Never strong enough to rule independently, Shah Alam II (1759–1806) was alternately the puppet of the British, the Marathas, and the Rohilla Afghans, one of whom, in a fit of temper, blinded him.

In time, the British, who had come to India as merchants during Akbar's reign and had received special privileges in the seventeenth century, became the major power. They defeated the rival French at Plassy in 1757, and in 1765 Lord Clive was granted authority by the emperor to collect taxes in the eastern provinces through the East India Company. This was the opening wedge. In 1722 the Company took the step of gathering the revenues under its own initiative, by-passing the Mughals. But Mughal authority was not yet repudiated. The emperor was accorded imperial status in 1803 when the Company became his "protector" and this was extended when, in 1813, the British Parliament declared its sovereignty over the Company.

The death agony of the Mughal empire took place in a courtroom after the Mutiny of 1857. Bahadur Shah II (1837-1858), a poet of talent whose *ghazls* are still sung, was tried for his role in the revolt. Although, as a legally minded historian pointed out sixty years later, the British had in fact rebelled against *him*, the emperor was convicted and sent to Burma in exile.

After Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi, many of Muhammad Shah's artists and craftsmen sought new patrons. Some went to Rajasthan, or to the Pahari Hills, or to the Deccan where their traditions mingled with local idioms; others followed the great Mughal nobles to the provinces. The leisurely, pleasure loving nawabs of Bengal and Oudh were generous to their craftsmen and artists, who turned out quantities of jade cups, crystals, weapons, glassware, and pictures based upon earlier work. For they had brought their pattern books with them and could duplicate any or all of the favorite subjects. Akbar's military triumphs, Jahangir's animals and allegorical portraits, and Shah Jahan's splendid court scenes were evoked like ghosts from a glorious past. Occasionally, a particularly gifted artist or craftsman invented something new. Processions and panoramic views of the nawabs with all their nobles, soldiers, elephants, cultivators, and concealed ladies, all enumerated in amusing detail, became popular subjects. A curious picture, like a Govardhan gone sour, offers a view of self-tortured lovers who see cruel projections of themselves as described by a crone.

Plate 82

Plate 83

The revival of harmony between Moslems and Hindus, which had been lost during Aurangzeb's reign, led to a blending of the two traditions, a belated and short-lived reawakening of Akbar's religious spirit. Hindu genre scenes, such as the busy view of a Sivaite temple and the girls at a shrine, were painted for the nawabs by artists for whom the religious elements, however, seem to have been curiosities.

Plates 84 & 85

As the British gained in power their impact upon the arts increased. Ashraf Ali Khan was painted in about 1764 against a view of river boats at Patna. He sits Indian fashion on a Queen Anne chair, his water pipe gurgling on a matching table — a perfect symbol of the meeting of East and West. The shadows on the ground mark the end of the Mughal art-

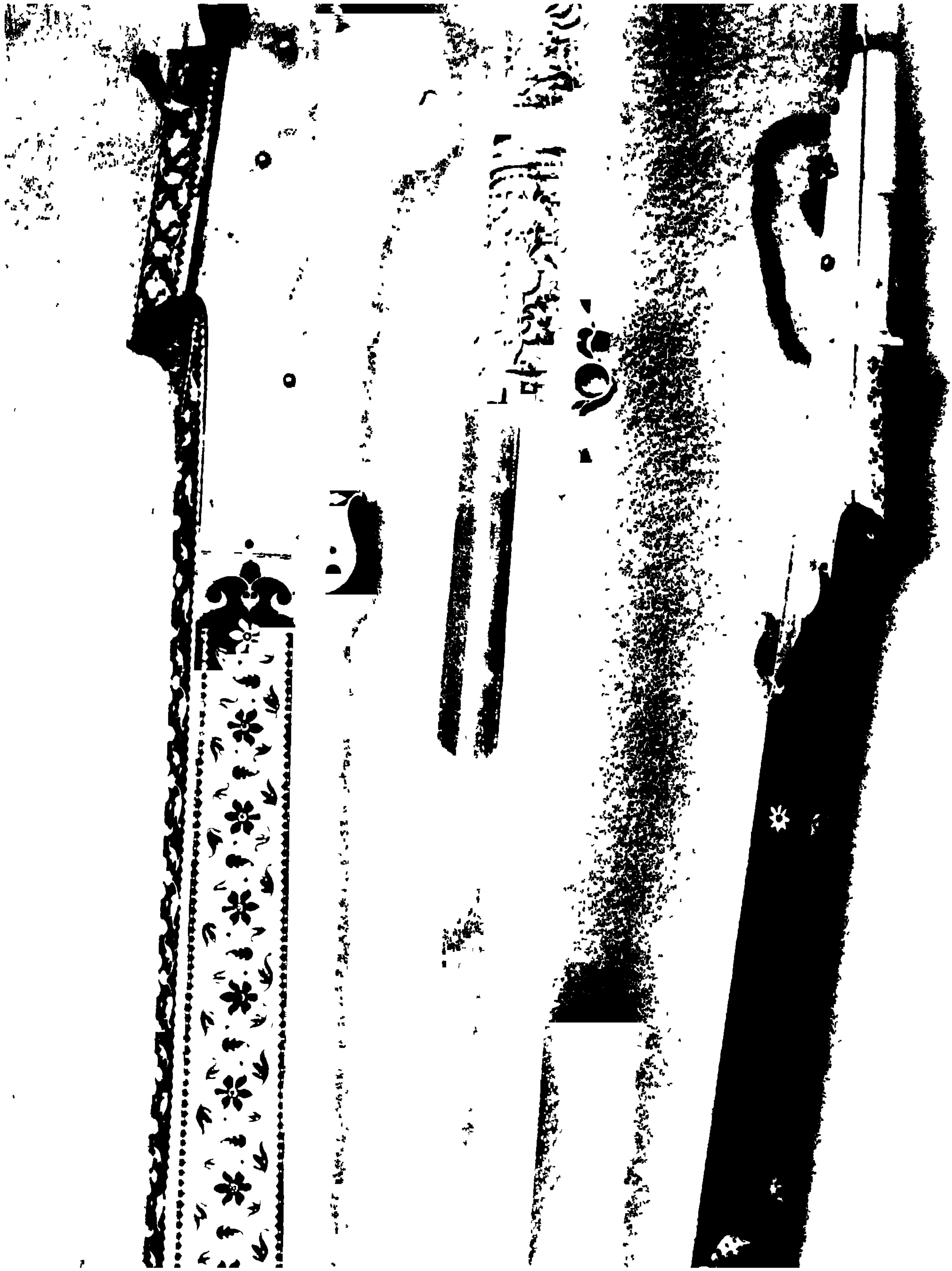
Plate 86

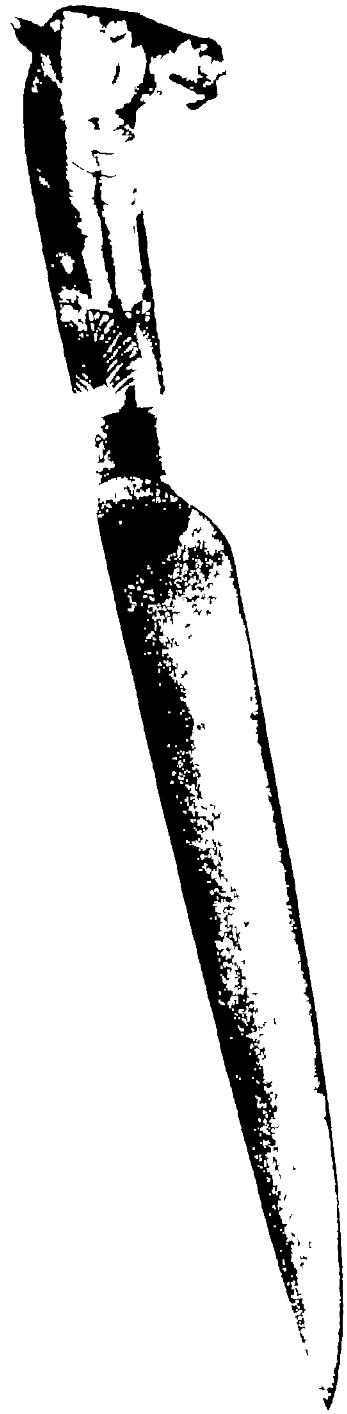
ist's pristine view of the world and the beginning of a new era. British artists now came to India to make their fortunes by painting large oil portraits for the darbar halls of the nawabs. These were in turn copied by local artists in miniature and sold upon occasion to foreigners, as was the case with the portrait of Shuja-ud Daulah of Oudh with his sons. Painting had become a vicious circle in which the traditions were the only losers.

Plate 87

The last stages in the decline of Mughal art occurred when the British joined the Mughal aristocracy as patrons, though even then attractive pictures were painted. The Indian sympathy for birds and animals coincided with the need of the new masters for scientific studies of India's flora and fauna. Mughal-trained artists painted thousands of painstakingly accurate likenesses of birds, beasts, and flowers, some of which are finer in finish and more sensitive than any made for the Mughals after the seventeenth century. Another sort of picture popular with the British was commissioned in Delhi in the early nineteenth century to record a party given by a Hindu. Although neither the guests, nor the dancing girls, nor yet the host were Mughal, the picture nonetheless carries on something of Mughal traditions.

Plate 88









76A & B

























CATALOGUE

OF THE EXHIBITION

1 AN ENCAMPMENT

Attributed to Mir Sayyid Ali. Painted in Tabriz, Persia. *Circa* 1540. 10 7/8 by 7 1/2 inches (27.7 by 19.1 cm.). Fogg Art Museum (Formerly in the collection of Louis J. Cartier)

Perhaps from the *Khamsa* of Nizami (British Museum Or. 2265), written for Shah Tahmasp at Tabriz between 1539 and 1549. Miniatures and many new borders were added in the late seventeenth century, at which time this page and several others were probably removed. B. W. Robinson has suggested that this picture may represent preparations for the betrothal feast of Layla and Ibn Salm.

PUBLISHED: A. B. Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane*, Paris and Brussels, 1929, Pl. 85 (upper half only); E. Kuhnel, "History of Miniature Painting and Drawing," *A Survey of Persian Art*, edited by Arthur Upham Pope, Oxford, 1938, vol. v, Pl. 908a, 909a.

2 TWO PAINTINGS FROM THE *Dastan i Amir Hamza* (*Hamza-nama*)

Circa 1575. 25 by 15 3/4 inches (63.5 by 40.0 cm.), mounted together. Brooklyn Museum.

A) *The Fight between Tayus and the Umrao of Chin*

B) *Muzmahil Treating the Sorcerers*

Two other manuscripts in Hamza style are known: *Duwal Rani Khizr Khan* of Amir Khosan Kihlavi, dated 1568, with two miniatures, in the National Museum of India; and a larger series, almost the size of the *Hamza*, of zodiacal subjects, in the Rampur State Library, Rampur, India. The *Hamza-nama* (Tales of Hamza) was said to have been first commissioned by Humayun at Kabul; if this is true, it was probably not illustrated on the vast scale of Akbar's copy from which these pages come, and which took fifteen years to complete.

PUBLISHED: The second picture was reproduced in color in Maurice Dimand, *Indian Miniature Painting*, Milan, n.d., Pl. 8.

3 FOUR MINIATURES FROM A COPY OF THE *Tuti-nama* (*Tale of a Parrot*)

Circa 1565–70. The Cleveland Museum of Art, gift of Mrs. A. Dean Perry.

A) *The Parrot at Court:* folio 36 v. Signed "the work of Basawan." 4 by 4 1/8 inches (10.1 by 10.5 cm.).

B) *A Man Encounters Four Girls in a Jungle:* folio 100 v. 4 by 4 1/8 inches (10.1 by 10.5 cm.).

C) *A Youth Surprised by a Docile Lion:* folio 150 r. 4 3/8 by 5 7/8 inches (10.9 by 10.0 cm.).

D) *Two Men Frightened by an Ass in Tiger's Clothing:* folio 207 r. 5 1/2 by 4 inches (13.9 by 10.1 cm.)

The *Tuti-nama* was translated by Ziya-ud-Din Nakashabi and seems to have been well liked by Akbar. Many pages from a second copy, datable to the early 1750's, are in the library of Sir Chester Beatty, Dublin. It is thanks to Dr. Sherman Lee, Director of the Clevland Museum, who has recently discovered these pages, that we are permitted to include them.

PUBLISHED: S. Lee and P. Chandra, "A Newly Discovered *Tuti-nama* and the Continuity of the Indian Tradition of Manuscript Painting," *The Burlington Magazine*, December, 1963.

4 FOUR MINIATURES FROM A *Diwan* OF ANWARI

Written in 1588 at Lahore. The Fogg Art Museum (formerly in the collection of C. W. Dyson Perrins).

A) *Anwari and a Companion in a Tree House:* folio 109 v. Attributed here to Basawan. 5 by 2 1/4 inches (12.2 by 5.8 cm.).

B) *A Prince Watches a Girl Dancer:* folio 245 r. Attributed to Khem Karan. 4 by 2 3/8 inches (10.2 by 5.6 cm.).

C) *Servants Preparing a Feast:* folio 249 r. Attributed here to Nanha. 2 3/4 by 1 3/4 inches (6.9 by 4.5 cm.).

D) *A Prince Riding to Hounds:* folio 316 v. Attributed here to Miskin. 2 7/8 by 1 3/4 inches (7.4 by 4.5 cm.).

PUBLISHED: Sotheby Sale Catalogue (December, 1959), lot 93, Pl. 45.

5 TWO MINIATURES FROM A DISPERSED *Diwan* OF SHAHI

Circa 1595. Private Collection.

A) *The Arrival of a Prince.* Signed by Kesu Das. 5 by 3 3/8 inches (12.6 by 8.5 cm.).

B) *The Poet Spurned.* Attributed here to Basawan. 5 by 3 1/4 inches (12.7 by 8.1 cm.).

PUBLISHED: S. C. Welch, "Early Mughal Miniature Paintings," *Ars Orientalis*, III (1959), Figs. 4, 5.

6 DARA AND THE HERDSMAN

Signed by Muhammad Taqi. *Circa* 1585. 9 by 6 1/8 inches (22.9 by 15.5 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

Although the artist's name is unknown elsewhere in this form, he may have been Ali Quli, one of Akbar's leading artists.

PUBLISHED: Richard Ettinghausen, *Islamic Art* (catalogue), Columbus, Ohio, 1956, Fig. 16.

7 LACQUER BINDING FROM A *Khamsa* BY AMIR KHOSRAU DIHLAVI

Dated 1597/98. 11 1/4 by 7 1/2 inches (28.5 by 19.0 cm.). Walters Art Gallery.

Made of pasteboard, lacquered and lined with lacquered *doublures* painted in black and gold. The manuscript now contains 21 miniatures, but many seem to have been removed. Several, including 8A and 8B below, are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and eight others are in the Cincinnati Art Museum.

PUBLISHED: Walters Art Gallery, *The History of Bookbinding 525–1950 A.D.*, Baltimore, 1957, p. 40, Pl. XXII; Richard Ettinghausen, "Near Eastern Book Covers," *Ars Orientalis*, III (1959), p. 126, Pl. 12.

8 TWO MINIATURES FROM A *Diwan* OF AMIR KHOSRAU DIHLAVI

Circa 1595–1600. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913.

A) *A Hindu Flees from a Dervish.* Attributed to Basawan. 9 7/8 by 6 1/4 inches (25.0 by 15.8 cm.).

B) *Iskandar Visits the Hermit.* Attributed here to Basawan. 9 7/8 by 6 1/4 inches (25.0 by 15.8 cm.).

PUBLISHED: [8A] M. Dimand, *A Handbook of Muhammadan Art*, 2nd ed., New York, 1944, Fig. 33; [8B] S. C. Welch, "The Paintings of Basawan," *Lalit Kala*, X, Delhi, 1963.

9 *The Bird Trappers*, A MINIATURE FROM A DISPERSED *Waqiat-i-Baburi*

Circa 1590. 9 7/8 by 5 1/4 inches (24.5 by 13.4 cm.). Fogg Art Museum.

10 *The Lion's Court*, A MINIATURE FROM AN *Anwar-i-Suhaili*

From folio 30 v. Attributed to Farrukh Chela. Manuscript dated 1596–97. 9 3/4 by 5 1/2 inches (24.7 by 13.9 cm.). Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, India.

11 TWO MINIATURES FROM AN *Akbar-nama*

Circa 1599–1600. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

A) *Akbar Slaying Tigers near Gwaliar in 1561.* Portraits and outline by Basawan, painted by Tara the Elder. 13 by 8 3/8 inches (33.0 by 21.2 cm.).

B) *Bullocks Dragging Siege Guns for an Attack on the Fort at Ranthambhor, Rajasthan, in 1568.* Outline by Miskin, painted by Paras. 13 by 8 3/8 inches (33.0 by 21.2 cm.).

Other historical manuscripts from a series in this format are: *Jami-al-Tawarikh*, dated 1595, in the Gulistan Library and a *Timur-nama* at the Bankipur State Library, Patna.

PUBLISHED: [11B] Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. 11.

12 AKBAR WATCHES AN ANIMAL COMBAT DURING A HUNT

Attributed here to Miskin. *Circa* 1595–1600. 9 5/8 by 5 inches (23.7 by 12.8 cm.). Private Collection.

13 *Krishna Holds up Mount Govardhan*, A MINIATURE FROM A DISPERSED COPY OF THE *Harivamsa*

Circa 1590–95. 11 3/8 by 7 7/8 inches (29.0 by 20.0 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore, Jr., Gift Fund, 1928.

PUBLISHED: Joseph Breck, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, vol. II, part 2 (1930), frontispiece in color.

14 CHRIST, THE VIRGIN MARY, AND ST. ANNE

Circa 1590. 8 1/4 by 5 3/8 inches (20.9 by 13.7 cm.). Collection of James Ivory, New York.

15 PORTRAIT OF RAI SINGH OF BIKANER

Circa 1575. 4 5/8 by 2 5/8 inches (11.8 by 6.6 cm.). Private Collection.

Rai Singh was related by marriage to Akbar. He became ruler of Bikaner in 1571 and lived until 1612. An inscribed portrait is soon to be published by Mme. Tatyana Wladmizovna Greck of the State Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

16 A MUGHAL AND A RAJPUT CONVERSE

Circa 1595. 5 1/8 by 3 1/8 inches (13.0 by 7.9 cm.). Private Collection.

Mughals tied their coats (*jameh*) on their right side, Hindus on their left.

PUBLISHED: S. C. Welch, "Early Mughal Miniatures...," Fig. 15.

17 A SCHOOLMASTER AND PUPIL

Circa 1585. 3 5/8 by 2 7/8 inches (9.1 by 7.5 cm.). Private Collection.

18 A VINA PLAYER

Signed by Mansur. *Circa* 1600. 3 5/8 by 2 3/4 inches (9.3 by 7.0 cm.). Collection of Edward Croft Murray, London.

Mansur, who became one of Jahangir's favorite painters, and who was given the title *Nadir al Asr*, "The Wonder of the Age," also painted No. 37 below. Dr. Moti Chandra has suggested that the vina player shown here may be Naubat Khan, portrayed in a later picture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (see Coomaraswamy *Catalogue*, Pl. 28).

PUBLISHED: Basil Gray, "Islamic Art at the Indian Exhibition, Royal Academy, London, November 1947 to February 1948," *Ars Islamica*, vols. XV–XVI, Ann Arbor (1951), Fig. 6.

19 A FALCONER

Circa 1600. 5 3/4 by 3 1/2 inches (14.5 by 9.0 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

20 GOLD SPOON SET WITH RUBIES, EMERALDS, AND A DIAMOND

Last quarter of the sixteenth century. 7 1/4 inches long (18.3 cm.). Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

21 FRAGMENT OF AN ANIMAL CARPET

Third quarter of sixteenth century. About 4 by 3 1/2 feet (1.0065 by 1.29 m.). The Textile Museum, Washington, D. C.

Other fragments are in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; The Detroit Institute of Arts; and the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

22 LANDSCAPE CARPET

Late sixteenth century. 7 feet 11 1/2 inches by 5 feet 1 inch (2.227 by 1.750 m.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

PUBLISHED: F. R. Martin, *A History of Old Oriental Carpets Before 1800*, London, 1908, Fig. 34; W. von Bode and E. Kuhnel, *Antique Rugs From the Near East*, fourth edition, Berlin, 1958, Fig. 119; F. Sarre and H. Trenkwald, *Old Oriental Carpets*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1929, vol. II, Pl. 59 (in color).

23 MANUSCRIPT: A *Bustan* OF SA'DI

By Mir Ali al Husayni. Written at Bukhara for Sultan Abd al Aziz (1540–1550). An illustration: *The Poet's Visit to an Indian Temple*. Attributed here to Bishndas. 8 3/4 by 5 1/8 inches (22.3 by 12.9 cm.). Collection of Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Mass.

This manuscript was one of the treasures of the Imperial Library and was inscribed by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The painter Bishndas was described by Jahangir as "unequalled in his eye for taking likenesses." He was sent to Persia to paint Shah Abbas in 1617 and was given an elephant by the appreciative emperor

upon his return. An inscribed painting of the house of Shaikh Ful, in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, is the basis for our attribution (see Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Pl. 37).

24 MANUSCRIPT: A *Bustan* OF SA'DI

Written at Agra in 1605. Illustration: *A Thief Bound to a Column.*

Attributed here to Aqa Riza Jahangiri. 7 5/8 by 4 inches (19.6 by 10.1 cm.). Lent anonymously through the Fogg Art Museum.

25 TWO MINIATURES FROM A DISPERSED *Gulistan* OF SA'DI

Circa 1610. Mounted on one page. Private Collection.

A) *The Undoing of an Ill-natured Vizier.* Attributed here to Manohar. 2 1/2 by 3 1/2 inches (6.3 by 8.9 cm.).

B) *A Fraudulent Pilgrim Rejected from Court.* Perhaps by Ghulam Mirza. 2 1/2 by 3 1/2 inches (6.2 by 8.8 cm.).

PUBLISHED: S. C. Welch, "Early Mughal Miniatures...," Figs. 18, 19.

26 THE BIRTH OF A PRINCE

Attributed here to Bishndas. *Circa* 1610. 9 5/8 by 6 3/4 inches (24.3 by 17.0 cm.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

We are grateful to Dr. Moti Chandra for the suggestion that this scene, perhaps from a *Jahangir-nama*, may represent the birth of Prince Kerim.

PUBLISHED: A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue* . , Pls. 3, 4; Coomaraswamy, " Collection Goloubew ..," Pl. 68.

27 FOLIO FROM AN ALBUM MADE FOR JAHANGIR

Calligraphy by Mir Ali al Sultani, dated 1537. Borders perhaps painted by Aqa Riza Jahangiri. *Circa* 1610. 16 3/8 by 10 1/2 inches (42.2 by 26.7 cm.). Nelson Gallery Atkins Museum (Nelson Fund).

For other pages like this one, see: Ernst Kuhnel and Hermann Goetz, *Indian Book Painting*; J. V. S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray, "Indian Paintings in a Persian Museum ."; and Y. A. Godard, "Les Marges du Murakka Gulshan...."

PUBLISHED: Handbook, *Nelson Gallery of Art*, fourth edition, Kansas City, 1959, p. 237.

28 THE DEATH OF INAYAT KHAN

Circa 1618. 5 1/4 by 3 3/4 inches (13.3 by 9.5 cm.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

PUBLISHED: A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue...*, p. 32; Coomaraswamy, " Collection Goloubew .," Pl. 71; Eric Schroeder, "The Troubled Image," *Art and*

Thought, ed. K. B. Iyer, London, 1947; Richard Ettinghausen, *Great Drawings of All Time*, ed. Ira Moskowitz, New York, 1962, vol. vi, Pl. 877 (in color).

✓ 29 JAHANGIR WITH A PORTRAIT OF HIS FATHER

Mostly painted by Abu'l Hasan. *Circa* 1599-1605. 4 1/2 by 3 1/4 inches (11.5 by 8.1 cm.). Musée Guimet, Paris.

The miniature is inscribed beneath Jahangir's arm "Portrait of the venerated Padshah at the age of thirty years painted by. . and the face retouched by Nadir al Zaman," (Abu'l Hasan). On the border is written: "picture of the venerated Jahangir Padshah contemplating the portrait of the venerated Akbar Padshah," and on the portrait of Akbar "Portrait of the venerated 'who is on the celestial throne' painted by Nadir al Zaman." As Jahangir was born in 1569, the inscription implies that the picture was partly painted in 1599, six years prior to the accession. If this is the case, the halo and portrait of Akbar were presumably added after 1605.

PUBLISHED: F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters*, Pl. 202; Ivan Stchoukine, *Les Miniatures Indiennes au Musée de Louvre*, Paris, 1929, pp. 26-29, Pl. 6; G. Migeon, *Arts Musulmans*, Paris, 1926, Pl. 33; Arnold and Grohman, *The Islamic Book*, Munich, 1929, Pl. 83.

30 DARBAR OF JAHANGIR

By two painter (perhaps Abu'l Hasan and Manchar). *Circa* 1619. 13 5/8 by 7 5/8 inches (34.5 by 19.5 cm.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

PUBLISHED: Sarre and Martin, *Die Meisterwerke der Muhammadanischen Kunst*, Munich, 1912, vol. i, Pl. 38, Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures Persanes*, Paris, 1913, vol. ii, Pl. 165; F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters* , vol. ii, Pl. 216; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue* ., Pl. 34; Coomaraswamy, " Collection Goloubew .," Pl. 72; Ivan Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols," Pl. 55, pp. 228 241.

31 AN INFANT PRINCE

Signed "the work of the slave Nadir al Zaman." *Circa* 1618. 3 5/8 by 2 1/8 inches (9.3 by 5.3 cm.). Private Collection.

The subject appears to be Shah Shuja, who was born in 1616. He is shown at a later age in No. 29 and again, as a young man, in No. 44. See also Ivan Stchoukine, "Portraits Moghols," 4, Fig. 2.

32 JAHANGIR EMBRACING NUR JAHAN

Attributed by Ivan Stchoukine to Govardhan. *Circa* 1615. 6 3/4 by 4 1/2 inches (17.3 by 11.5 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.
PUBLISHED: "Portraits Moghols," pp. 167–176, Pl. 56.

33 SITA AND LAKSHMAN

Attributed to Fazl. From a dispersed copy of the *Razmnama*, dated 1616. 14 3/8 by 8 5/8 inches (36.5 by 22.1 cm.). Private Collection.

34 THE RULERS OF GUJERAT, RAI BAHRAH AND JASSA JAM

Signed by Bishndas. *Circa* 1618. 9 by 6 1/4 inches (22.8 by 15.9 cm.). From the Minto Album. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

PUBLISHED: A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Notes on Indian Painting," 4, *Artibus Asiae*, III (1927), pp. 283-294, Fig. 21.

35 SQUIRRELS IN A PLANE TREE

Attributed to Abu'l Hasan. *Circa* 1615. 14 3/8 by 8 7/8 inches (36.5 by 22.5 cm.). India Office Library, London.

PUBLISHED: Percy Brown, *Indian Painting*, Pl. 15; Lionel Heath, *Indian Art at the British Exhibition*, London, 1925, frontispiece; Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Pl. 152; J. V. S. Wilkinson, *Mughal Painting*, Pl. 6 (in color); W. G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, Pl. 25 (in color).

36 ALAM GUMAN AND HIS CALVES

Circa 1614. Painted on cloth, mounted on cardboard. National Museum of India, New Delhi.

PUBLISHED: Helen McCraig, "The Elephant in Indian Art," *The Times of India Annual* (1962), p. 54 (color plate).

37 A BLACK AND WHITE HORNBILL

By Ustad Mansur. *Circa* 1615. 6 by 9 1/2 inches (15.2 by 24.1 cm.) (without border). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Funds given by the Kevorkian Foundation supplementing the Rogers Fund, 1955.

38 JADE WINE CUP IN THE SHAPE OF A LEAF

First quarter of the seventeenth century. Length 8 inches; width 5 1/4 inches (20.3 cm.; 13.3 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck.

Jahangir is shown with a similar cup in a drawing in a New York collection.

39 IVORY POWDER HORN

First quarter of the seventeenth century. 7 1/4 by 1 1/2 inches (18.6 by 3.9 cm.). Private Collection.

Powder horns of this type are discussed and illustrated by Wolfgang Born in "Ivory Powder Horns from the Mughal Period," *Ars Islamica*, vol. IX, Ann Arbor (1942), pp. 93–110, Figs. 1–17.

40 **FRAGMENT OF A RUG**

First quarter of the seventeenth century. 33 by 34 5/8 inches (82.0 l. warp, 85.0 r. warp, 88.0 weft m.). The Textile Museum, Washington, D. C.

PUBLISHED: G. Migeon, *Exposition des Arts Musulman au Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, Paris, 1903, Pl. 84; F. R. Martin, *History of Oriental Carpets*, Fig. 231.

41 **COURT COAT**

First half of the seventeenth century. Satin embroidered with silks. 40 1/8 by 38 1/4 inches (102.0 by 97.0 cm.). Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

PUBLISHED: John Irwin, "Textiles and the Minor Arts," *The Art of India and Pakistan*, ed. Sir Leigh Ashton, London, 1950, Pl. 66; Irwin, *Indian Embroidery*, London, 1951, no. 1, Fig. 1.

42 **SHAH JAHAN RIDING WITH DARA SHIKOH**

By Govardhan. *Circa* 1632. 8 3/4 by 5 1/2 inches (22.2 by 14.0 cm.). From the Minto Album. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

PUBLISHED: Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. 36.

43 **SHAH JAHAN**

By Bichitr. *Circa* 1632. 8 3/4 by 5 1/4 inches (22.1 by 13.3 cm). From the Minto Album. Victoria Albert Museum, London.

Inscribed: "A good portrait of me in my 40th year, the work of Bichitr."

44 **SHAH SHUJA ENTHRONED WITH RAJA GAJ SINGH OF MARWAR**

Attributed here to Bichitr. *Circa* 1633. 9 7/8 by 7 3/8 inches (25.1 by 18.7 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

Shah Shuja was made nominal governor of the Deccan by his father in 1633. Raja Gaj served there as a general from 1630 to 1633, when he returned to the imperial court. This picture perhaps commemorates the leave-taking. An incorrect inscription in Hindi was added later.

45 **MIR RUSTAM OF KANDAHAR**

Perhaps by Hashim. *Circa* 1635. 6 1/8 by 3 3/8 inches (15.4 by 8.5 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

Inscribed: "Portrait of Mirza Rustam." He was the father-in-law of Dara Shukoh as well as Prince Parviz, the elder brother of Shah Jahan. He died in 1641 at the age of 72.

46 FOUR MULLAHS

Probably by Govardhan. *Circa* 1630. 8 1/16 by 5 1/8 inches (20.5 by 13.0 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

PUBLISHED: Percy Brown, *Indian Painting Under the Mughals*, Pl. 67.

47 LOVERS ON A TERRACE

Attributed here to Govardhan. *Circa* 1630. 6 1/4 by 4 5/8 inches (15.7 by 11.9 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

48 PALE OLIVE GREEN LOTIFORM CUP

Mid seventeenth century. Length 9 1/2 inches (24.1 cm.). Collection of Sir Isaac and Lady Wolfson, London.

Although it has been suggested that this cup should be dated as late as the late seventeenth century, we believe it to be of the Shah Jahan period on the basis of the sensitivity of the carving and of its stylistic relationship to the marble decoration of the Red Fort in Delhi.

PUBLISHED: Adrian Maynard, "Chinese and Indian Jade Carvings in the Collection of Sir Isaac and Lady Wolfson," *The Connoisseur* (June, 1963), Fig. 9.

49 A RUBY

Inscribed "Shah Jahan ibn Jahangir Shah San 1038 [A.D. 1628] Alamgir Padshah 1071 [A.D. 1660]." 1 3/4 by 1 3/4 inches (4.4 by 4.4 cm.); weight 49.340 grams. Baharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, India.

50 DARK GREEN JADE CUP IN THE SHAPE OF A GOURD

Mid seventeenth century. Length 8 inches (20.3 cm.). Collection of Sir Isaac and Lady Wolfson, London.

A similar cup with an inscription is in the British Museum.

PUBLISHED: Adrian Maynard, "Chinese and Indian Jade Carvings in the Collection of Sir Isaac and Lady Wolfson," *The Connoisseur* (June, 1963), Fig. 1.

51 ROCK CRYSTAL WINE POT

Mid seventeenth century. Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

52 AGATE BOWL WITH GILT METAL RIM

Mid seventeenth century. Diameter 4 3/4 inches (12.1 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

53 GREEN JADE BOWL

Mid seventeenth century. Diameter without handles 5 1/4 inches (13.4 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

54 LIME BOX IN MANGO SHAPE, CRYSTAL NETTED WITH GOLD AND RUBIES

Mid seventeenth century. 1 3/4 by 1 5/8 inches (4.5 by 3.5 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

Lime was one of the ingredients of *pan*, a betel leaf enclosing *areca* hut, which was chewed with various spices and lime. Shah Shuja is shown holding *pan* in No 44.

55 GREEN JADE BOX IN MANGO SHAPE

Mid seventeenth century. 5 1/2 by 4 1/4 inches (13.9 by 10.8 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

56 WOOL PRAYER RUG

Mid seventeenth century. 61 by 40 inches (1.50 by 1.15 m.). Collection of Joseph V. McMullan, New York.

57 GOLD BROCADE WITH FLOWERS IN CUT VELVET

Mid seventeenth century 20 by 29 inches. (51.0 by 73.7 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

58 AURANGZEB IN DARBAR

Circa 1660. 12 by 9 inches (30.5 by 22.8 cm.). Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, India.

59 AURANGZEB WITH SULTAN AZAM AND COURTIERS

Circa 1660. 7 1/2 by 8 3/8 inches (19.1 by 21.1 cm.). Private collection.

PUBLISHED: Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures Persanes*, Paris, 1913, vol. 1, Pl. 20 (in color); S. C. Welch, "Early Mughal Miniature Paintings ..," Fig. 19.

60 A HINDU GIRL PRAYING BEFORE A FIRE

Third quarter of the seventeenth century. 5 3/8 by 6 5/8 inches (13.7 by 16.9 cm.). Private Collection.

61 SILVER BEAKER

Second half of the seventeenth century. Height 5 1/2 inches (13.9 cm.). Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

PUBLISHED: *Indian Art, a Brief Guide*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1962, Fig. 30.

62 GOLD LOTA

Circa 1700. Cloisonné in green, white, red, and pink. Probably made at Jaipur. Height 5 5/8 inches (14.3 cm.). The Cleveland Museum of Art.

63 GOLD AND ENAMEL LOCKET

Circa 1700. 1 1/8 by 1 5/8 inches (3.1 by 3.5 cm.). The Cleveland Museum of Art.

The motif of whirling gold dancers was current in Mughal painting during the second half of the seventeenth century.

64 COURT GIRDLE

Circa 1700. Gold brocade with a design of trellis and grapes. 10 feet 6 1/2 inches by 20 inches (2.745 by .508 m.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

65 CURTAIN

Second half of the seventeenth century. Gold brocade with embroidered red roses. 73 by 32 1/2 inches (1.85 by 82.6 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

Perhaps made for a Mughal nobleman in the Deccan.

66 DAGGER WITH JADE HILT SET WITH PRECIOUS STONES

Second half of the seventeenth century. Length 14 1/8 inches. Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

67 DAGGER WITH LION HEAD HILT OF WALRUS IVORY

From Lahore. Second half of the seventeenth century. Length 19 inches (48.2 cm.). Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, India.

68 TWO KNIVES WITH SILVER RAM'S HEAD HILTS

From the Amber Palace. Second half of the seventeenth century. Length 8 inches (20.3 cm.) and 14 inches (35.5 cm.). Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, India.

69 HELMET DAMASCENED IN GOLD

Second half of the seventeenth century. Height 6 inches, diameter 7 inches, width 8 inches (15.2 by 17.8 by 20.3 cm.). Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, India.

Acquired as an antique by the Jaipur armory in 1833.

70 SCIMITAR WITH HILT OF SILVER GILT AND BROCADE SCABBARD

Second half of the seventeenth century. Length 36 inches (914 cm.). Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, India.

The blade is inscribed in gold by the maker, Asadaula Isfahani. According to the Jaipur records, it was made in Delhi and was known as "Delhi Gilota Hakim Khani."

71 MATCHLOCK WITH TEAK STOCK INLAID WITH IVORY

Made in Manpur. Second half of the seventeenth century. Length 5 feet 2 1/2 inches (1.588 m.). Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, India.

72 MATCHLOCK WITH BARREL EMBOSSED WITH SILVER AND TEAK STOCK

Made at Narwar. Eighteenth century. Length 5 feet 8 inches (1.728 m.). Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, India.

73 CHILD'S MATCHLOCK WITH STOCK DECORATED WITH LACQUER

Eighteenth century. Length 25 inches (63.5 cm.). Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, India.

74 DAGGER WITH CRYSTAL HORSE HEAD HILT

From Delhi. Eighteenth century. Length 11 inches (35.5 cm.). Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, India.

75 HIDE SHIELD LACQUERED BLACK AND PAINTED WITH GOLD FLOWERS

Eighteenth century. Diameter 23 inches (58.3 cm.). Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, India.

76 DAGGERS

Eighteenth century. Maharaja of Jaipur Museum, Jaipur, India.

A) *Dagger with hilt inlaid with gold flowers.* Length 18 inches (45.7 cm.).

B) *Dagger with hilt incribed with verses from the* KORAN. Length 14 inches (35.5 cm.).

The second shape is known as a *Katar* and is uniquely Indian. Presented to Maharaja Sawai Singh by Man Singh, the Maharaja of Jodhpur.

77 MUHAMMAD SHAH ENTERTAINED BY MUSICIANS AND DANCERS

Circa 1720. 15 5/8 by 10 3/4 inches (29.7 by 27.5 cm.). Collection of Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Ahmedabad, India.

Note the leaf-shaped eye so characteristic of the school of Kishangarh in Rajasthan. It is possible that the painter of this picture later went to Kishangarh.

78 MUHAMMAD SHAH VIEWING A GARDEN FROM A PALANQUIN
Circa 1730-40. 15 1/8 by 17 3/4 inches (38.3 by 42.5 cm.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

79 LADIES BATHING
Mid eighteenth century. Musée Guimet, Paris

80 BLUE GLASS VASE WITH GOLD POPPIES
Circa 1700. Height 7 3/4 inches (19.7 cm.). The Cleveland Museum of Art. Vases of this sort are shown in the picture in No. 77.

81 GLASS VASE WITH PAINTED DESIGN OF LOTUS BLOSSOMS
First quarter of the eighteenth century. Height 7 1/2 inches (19.1 cm.). Collection of Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck, New York.

82 A WEDDING PROCESSION
Painted at Murshidabad. *Circa* 1765. 11 by 14 3/8 inches (28.0 by 36.6 cm.). Private Collection.

83 LOVERS
Circa 1770. 6 3/4 by 3 1/2 inches (17.2 by 9.0 cm.). Private Collection.

84 A SIVAITE TEMPLE
Painted at Patna or Murshidabad. *Circa* 1765. 9 7/8 by 13 1/8 inches (25.1 by 33.2 cm.). India Office Library, London.

85 GIRLS WORSHIPING AT A SHRINE TO SIVA

Attributed to Faqirullah Khan, School of Oudh. Third quarter of the eighteenth century. 9 7/8 by 6 3/4 inches (25.0 by 17.2 cm.). India Office Library, London.
PUBLISHED: Vincent Smith, *A History of Fine Art...*, Pl. 128 (in color).

86 ASHRAF ALI KHAN
Probably painted at Patna. 8 5/8 by 5 7/8 inches (21.9 by 14.9 cm.). India Office Library, London.
Inscribed on the back: "Ashrofully Cawn, W. F. 1764." The initials probably refer to the owner of the picture, William Fullerton, a medical officer with the East India Company who had been at the Patna massacre.

87 SHUJA-UD-DAULAH, NAWAB OF OUDH, WITH HIS SONS

Painted at Faisabad by Nevasi Lal in 1774. 18 1/4 by 15 1/2 inches (46.4 by 39.5 cm.). Musée Guimet, Paris.

Mr. and Mrs. Archer have suggested that this is the picture made for Gentil, a French traveler, after an original by the English painter Tilly Kettle. It was given by Gentil to the King of France.

PUBLISHED: Ivan Stchoukine, *Miniatures Indiennes*. , p. 76, no. 116; Mildred and W. G. Archer, *Indian Painting for the British*, p. 118.

88 A NAUTCH PARTY

Painted at Delhi. Early nineteenth century 8 3/4 by 12 1/2 inches (22.4 by 31.7 cm.). India Office Library, London.

COMMENTARIES ON THE TEXT FIGURES

1 CARVED MOULDING

From the so-called Turkish Sultana's house at Fatehpur-sikri. *Circa* 1570.

Fatehpur-sikri was Akbar's capital from 1569 until 1584, when he moved to Lahore. It was built there after the birth of Prince Selim to be near Shaikh Salim Chishti, the saintly hermit considered responsible for the safe delivery of the heir.

2 DETAIL FROM THE FACADE OF THE TOMB OF ITIMAD-UD-DAULAH

Agra. *Circa* 1625-30. Photograph by James Ivory.

The tomb is marble inlaid with colored stones, mostly yellow and black.

3 MARBLE SCREEN FROM THE *Diwan-i-Khas*

Red Fort, Delhi. Mid seventeenth century. From an old photograph.

4 *The Death of Khan Jahan Lodi and His Thirty Companions*. A MINIATURE FROM THE *Shah Jahan-nama*, fol. 93v.

Completed by the scribe Muhammad Amin of Mashad in 1657. Signed by Abid, the brother of Abu'l Hasan. Size of page 23 1/5 by 14 3/5 inches (58.1 by 36.5 cm.). Size of text area 18 1/10 by 11 inches (45.6 by 28.5 cm.). The Royal Library, Windsor Castle. (Reproduced through the courtesy of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.)

This manuscript contains 43 miniatures, many of which are signed. The artists who contributed to it are: Lal Chand, Sadiki, Murad "Pupil of Nadir al Zaman," Bichitr, Bola, Balchand, Abid, Pak or Piak, Shir Dast, and Dawlat. It bears the seal of Asaph Jah, Wazir of Lucknow, dated 1776. According to a note he valued it at 12,000 rupees.

5 WINE CUP OF WHITE JADE

Inscribed with the titles of Shah Jahan and dated in the thirty-first regnal year, A.D. 1657. Height 2 1/4 by 7 1/4 inches (5.6 by 17.1 cm.). Reproduced through the courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

PUBLISHED: *Indian Art, A Brief Guide*, London, 1962, Fig. 28.

6 *Aurangzeb Hunting Nilgai*

Circa 1660. 9 1/2 by 13 inches (23.7 by 34.4 cm.). Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. Reproduced through the courtesy of the Chester Beatty Library.

PUBLISHED: Arnold and Wilkinson, *Chester Beatty Indian Miniatures*, vol. III, Pl. 90.

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